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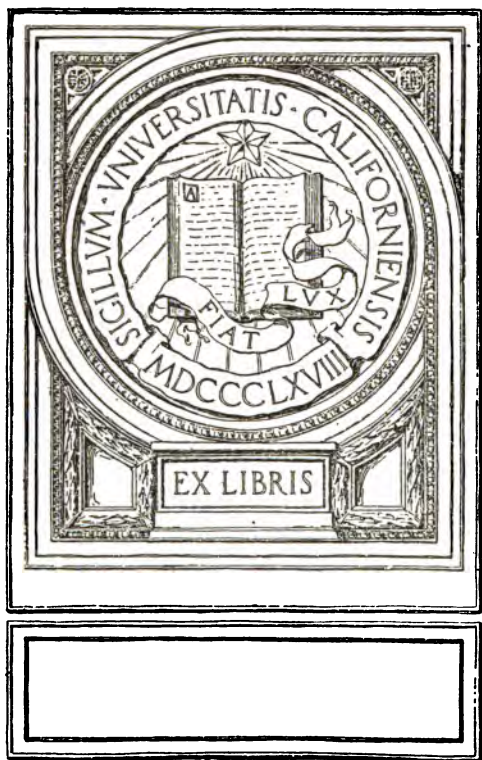
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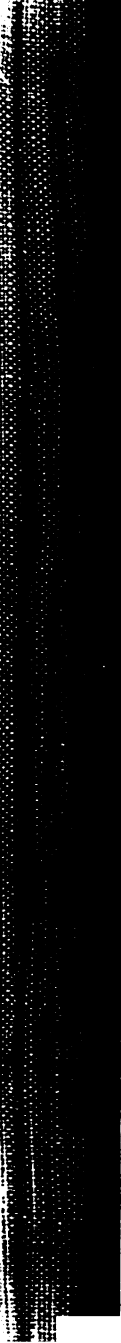
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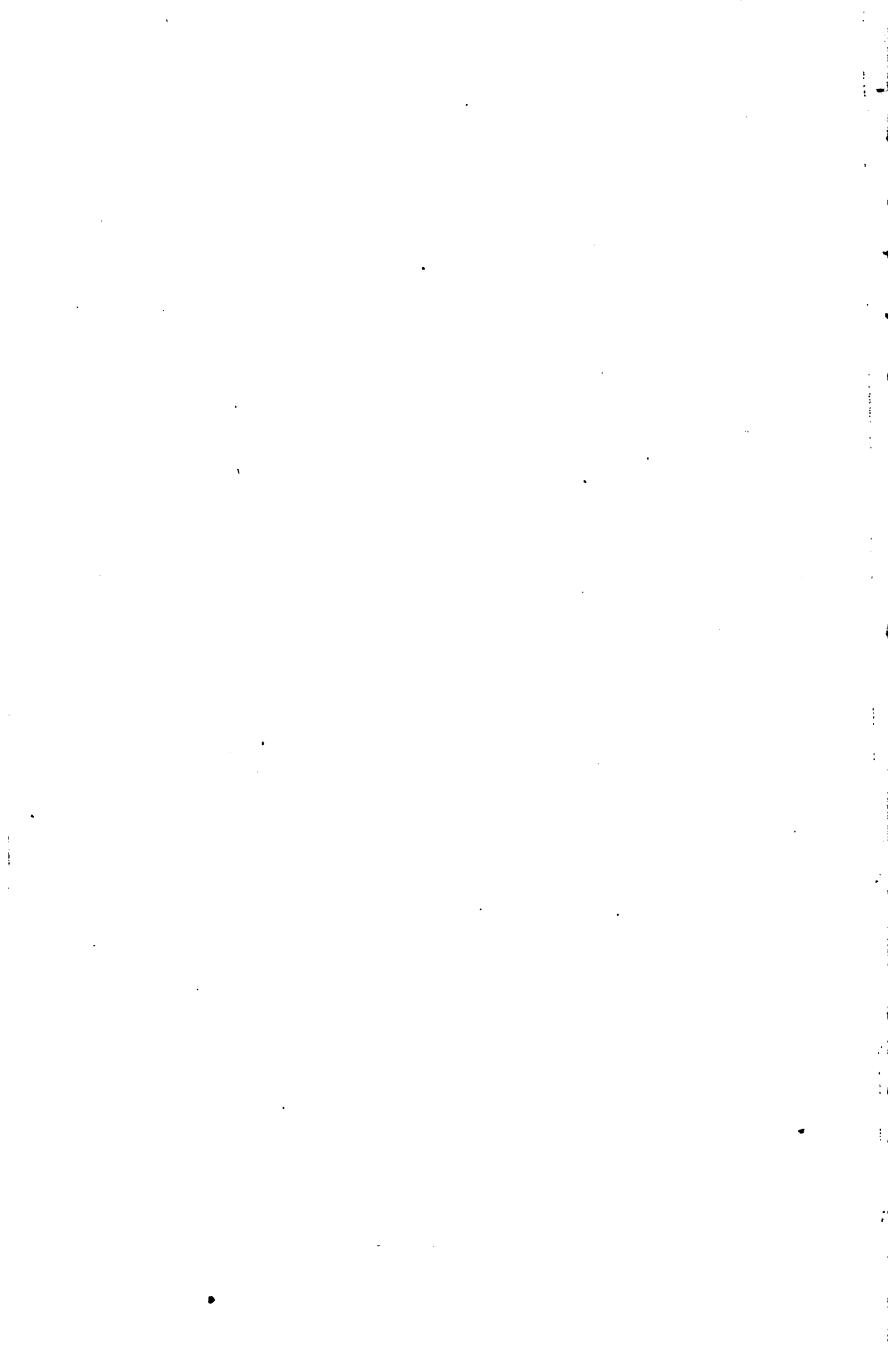
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THE LANDING OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

PAINTED BY EDWARD SAVAGE. ENGRAVED BY DAVID EDWIN, 1800.

From an original print in possession of Chief Justice Mitchell, Philadelphia, Pa.

HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

BY
HENRY WILLIAM ELSON

AUTHOR OF "SIDE LIGHTS ON AMERICAN HISTORY," ETC.

*With Two Hundred Illustrations Selected and
Edited by Charles Henry Hart*

VOLUME I



New York

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1908

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PREFACE

For many years I have contemplated writing a history of the United States in brief compass, that should fall between the elaborate works, which are beyond the reach of most busy people, and the condensed school histories, which are emasculated of all literary style through the necessity of crowding so many facts into small space.

In writing this history my aim has been to present an accurate narrative of the origin and growth of our country and its institutions in such a form as to interest the general reader. I have constantly borne in mind the great importance of combining the science of historical research with the art of historical composition. I have aimed also, especially when treating the national period, to balance the narrative and critical features in intelligent proportion. A mere recital of facts, without historic criticism, without reference to the undercurrents that move society, is no longer acceptable in this age of thinking readers.

I have endeavored to write, as stated, for the general reader, but not with a patronizing form of expression, as if addressed to the uneducated, or to children, nor with a burden of worthless incident and detail, nor yet with any effort to please those who delight only in the spectacular. At the same time, knowing that many intelligent people who wish to know something of their country are not fond of reading history, I have endeavored to present the narrative in readable form, in the hope that the work might be easy and pleasurable to read as well as instructive.

I have devoted much space to the life of the people,—their habits, modes of life, occupations, general progress, and the like, especially in the earlier period when they differed most widely from ourselves. But in treating the national period I have, however, without neglecting the industrial and social features, given greater space to political and constitutional development, as in this the life of a people who govern themselves is epitomized.

In my treatment of wars and disputes with foreign powers, I am aware that, with all my effort to view a subject from a neutral, judicial standpoint, an unconscious bias may be discerned; but should the work find any foreign readers, I beg them to remember that I have written absolutely *sine ira*.

In treating the Civil War and the great events that led to it, I have taken the utmost care to be fair to both sides; though as a native and resident of the North I no doubt partake of the prejudice of my section, if such prejudice can still be said to exist. I have refrained from using the terms "rebel" and "traitor" to designate those who rose against the government in the sixties, because of my profound respect for their sincerity.

The notes at the ends of the chapters are intended to elucidate something that has preceded in the text, to give personal traits of leading characters, to mention matters of too meager importance for the main narrative, or, as in many cases, to relate some event of real importance which did not exactly fit in the body of the text.

In preparing this work I have had frequent recourse to the original sources, but make no pretense that the work is based wholly, or even chiefly, on original research. I have freely used the works of other writers. A large number of these have been cited in the foot-notes for the purpose of

aiding the reader who desires to pursue the subject further, or to acknowledge an obligation to an author whose thought or form of expression has been, in some measure, adopted. Much information, however, has been gathered from sources not herein mentioned.

That the work may be accepted as authoritative throughout I have exercised the utmost care to secure historic accuracy; but absolute accuracy is not always attainable, especially where points are under dispute, and where such a great number of subjects are to be treated. The pointing out of any errors by the reader will be deemed a kindness.

My thanks are due to many kind friends for suggestions; to various librarians in Philadelphia, Washington and New York for special courtesies; to Mr. Stewart Culin, curator and Indian specialist of the University of Pennsylvania, who kindly read and criticised the chapter dealing with the Indian character. Above all, I am indebted to Professor Herman V. Ames of the University of Pennsylvania, who read the greater part of the manuscript and made many important suggestions.

In this second edition, enlarged, illustrated, and brought through the short session of Congress ending March 4, 1905, there are included a chapter on American Art by Mr. Charles Henry Hart, and various chapters on American Literature.

The illustrations have been selected, edited and described by Mr. Charles Henry Hart, the recognized authority on historical portraiture in America. Many of the portraits were heretofore unknown and have never before been published. The illustrations have a stamp of authenticity which has not before been put upon any popular illustrated history of our country.

This enlarged subscription edition has, too, the advantage

of the corrections and improvements which have been kindly suggested by the great number of competent reviewers who discussed the first edition.

H. W. E.

Philadelphia, June, 1905.



INTRODUCTION

The history of the United States of America is a story of intense interest, not only to the American people, but to intelligent people of all countries. This has been especially true with regard to foreigners in the past few years, owing to two facts: first, the extraordinary prominence given to our country by the recent war with Spain and the consequent acquisition of a vast archipelago in the Orient; second, our wonderful commercial expansion in recent years, and the irresistible "invasion" of the European countries by our products. It may truly be said that the eyes of the world are turned upon our land to-day as upon no other, and that our history is now of greater interest than ever before.

Mr. Bryce in his "American Commonwealth" points out three phenomena, peculiar to the United States, as new in the annals of the world: first, that our great population is the resultant of the blending of numerous European peoples; second, that besides the predominant white race there are seven millions of men belonging to a dark race,¹ thousands of years behind in its intellectual development, but legally equal in political and civil rights; and third, no other people in history, speaking the same tongue and living under the same institutions, has occupied so vast an area. To these we might add the more important and striking fact that the United States government is the first in history in which the federal system has been successful. This great fact is

¹ Increased to 8,840,789 by the census of 1900.



States, from its mere newness, must be less fascinating than that of the older countries; and it is true that the stories of royal dynasties, of orders of nobility, of ancient castles, are wanting in American history. But we have much to compensate for all this. We have not only the story of the marvelous development, the unprecedented growth of a vast people and their institutions; we have also the personal story of the barefoot boy, born among the lowly, but untrammelled by the iron fetters of caste, rising by the force of his own genius to the highest rank in the political, the military, or the industrial world. Among the greatest of our statesmen, our commanders of armies, our captains of industry, the great majority have risen from the commonest walks of life; and who can write fiction so fascinating as to compare with the story of such a life?

Again, American history presents one absorbingly interesting feature that is wholly unique in modern annals,—the removal of an ancient race that another race might be transplanted to the soil. Behold first the wild man of the forest in his native haunts. See him chase the deer and the buffalo and strive with his enemy in battle. His life is full of tragedy and romance, of rivalry, of hatred, and of love. See him in the vast solitudes of nature living in apparent contentment with his family and kindred, amid the crude surroundings of his home; hear his rude song resound from hill to hill. Now behold a stronger race coming from afar, and the long warfare between Civilization and Barbarism begins. The wild man at length must yield, or flee before the forces of modern life, or he must die. It is the decree of Providence, for he is a cumberer of the ground.

Now comes the pioneer with his ax, his cattle, and his plow; the development of a continent begins. The New

World becomes the home of the oppressed from every land. Cities rise where the forest waved over the wild's man's home, and the hills and valleys resound with the teeming life of an industrious and ambitious people. Nearly two hundred years pass, when they rise and win their freedom from political bondage. Now are laid the foundations of a mighty nation, and the people grapple with the greatest problem of all,—the problem of self-government. The new nation has a thorny road for many years, but it toils upward, surmounts every obstacle, and increases more and more. Three quarters of a century pass. The nation has grown great. But, alas! there is internal strife that now breaks forth into dreadful war. The nation's life trembles in the balance,—but it is saved, and the nation is born again. It rises from the civil conflict with youth renewed and stronger than before; and the men that strove together become friends and brethren. Now begins the latest scene of the wonderful panorama,—an industrial development which has no parallel in the world's history. In the space of forty years the youthful nation shoots ahead of all its rivals as a financial and military power, in commercial, manufacturing, and agricultural industries, and is second to none in its standard of civilization. Such is the United States of America at the dawn of the twentieth century.

Few civilized nations have less in common with the United States than has Italy or Spain; yet the history of our country must begin with the story of a Spaniard who was first an Italian.

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PROEM TO THE ILLUSTRATIONS

THOMAS CARLYLE once wrote: "Often I have found a portrait superior in real instruction to half a dozen written 'biographies,' as biographies are written. In all my poor historical investigations it has been, and always is, one of the most primary wants to procure a bodily likeness of the personage inquired after, — a good portrait if such exists; failing that, even an indifferent, if sincere one. In short, any representation made by a faithful human creature of that face and figure which he saw with his eyes, and which I can never see with mine, is now valuable to me, and much better than none at all." The sentiment so aptly expressed by Carlyle, which is more than can be said for the expression of many of his sentiments, finds response in nearly every one. In portraiture both artist and public find the keenest satisfaction. We want to see the features, the physical individuality, of the personage about whom we read. Without such a record, without the power of picturing to our mind the individual as he was, his name and fame are vague abstractions to us, and we lose half the force of his personality. In the expression of a man's countenance we can almost always trace his character, and we retain a more correct recollection of his actions by keeping in our minds a lively impression of his appearance.

Carlyle has also hit the nail square on the head when he says "any representation made by a faithful human creature of that face and figure which *he saw with his eyes.*" This

is the key-note to the scheme of illustration used in these volumes — *original portraits*. To quote from my own article on "The Original Portraits of Washington," in the *Century* for April, 1889, "It would seem as though it should not be necessary to define what is meant by an original portrait; yet so much confusion exists upon this subject, from not clearly comprehending at the start the meaning of the term, that it may be better to begin by its definition. An original portrait is one painted from life, where the artist and the sitter have been opposite to each other and the result is a complete picture. A replica is a copy of the original picture by the same artist who painted the original; and it is often very difficult to determine which is the original and which the replica. To the practised critical eye there is usually a freedom about an original not found in the replica, and which in turn assumes rigidity in the copy by another hand." Therefore in portraiture the original is the one of first importance. It is endowed with an animation, an intelligence, a lifelikeness that will be found lacking in the replica and wanting in the copy, no matter how good they may be. And when you come across a copy of a copy, it will be found to be a mere ghost of the original. In this work nothing but original portraits have been used, and consequently many familiar faces, usually found in illustrated histories, will be noted by their absence. This arises either from the "familiar faces" being fictitious portraits of the persons whose names they bear, or it was not possible to secure in time photographs direct from authentic original portraits. No engraved portrait has been reproduced, except in the three instances noted in the indexes, where the painter and engraver were the same; in other words, original engraved portraits from life. A comparison of the portraits, many of them here given direct from the paintings, by photo-mechanical process, for the first time, with well-known engravings from the same pictures, will

show even to inexperienced eyes the distance the engraving is removed from the painting, so far indeed as oftentimes to become a fictitious portrait.

Few persons without having had their attention particularly called to the fact have any idea of the number of spurious portraits that are passed off for true likenesses. Was this familiarly known, it would be recognized that to have a true likeness of a person was quite as important as to have a true history of his life and actions. Otherwise, if Carlyle's judgment is correct, the one may belie the other. And as the guinea stamp of the conscientious historian is required on the page of written history, it should be required all the more when we are asked to look upon the counterfeit presentment of those characters who have made that history. Many of the best known portraits purporting to be authentic likenesses of our great men and women are nothing more nor less than apocryphal. Not only are these portraits not authentic, but in many cases portraits of other well-known personages have been used to supply the deficiency. The number of so-called portraits which have been proved false is well calculated to astonish one unacquainted with the facts.

There are two distinct classes of spurious portraits: those that are frauds intended to deceive and those that are misnamed through carelessness and want of sufficient investigation and proof of authenticity. Another, what might be called an intermediate, class is where no true portrait exists of a person deceased, and one is very much desired by family or friends, and another is supposed to bear such a strong resemblance that a picture of the latter, with changes and alterations, is made to do duty for the former. In engravings the actual fraud is committed more often than in painted portraits. Genuine portraits are engraved of some popular idol or to illustrate some book. The plate has served its turn and the portrait of another person is needed. Either from econ-

omy of money or of time, the original name is obliterated and a new name substituted. Flagrant instances of such fake work occurred in this country at the time of Bolivar's *émeute*. An Italian engraver, Michele Pekinino, engraved a large oval plate of the mild, gentle landscape painter, Asher Brown Durand, which he afterward surrounded with a rectangular frame and sent forth into the world as a veritable portrait of the South American liberator, then at the zenith of his fame. Not satisfied with one such fraud, he changed a small plate of Commodore Decatur into the same Bolivar, this time changing also his own name as engraver. In this way a print of Sir John Burgh became Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden; Charles I. did duty for Oliver Cromwell, Cromwell for William of Orange, and Frederick Schiller for our own Washington. Of the careless type are the recent instances of Sarah Siddons masquerading as Eleanor Custis, in Ford's "True George Washington"; of Wright of Derby for Joseph Wright, the American painter, in the *New England Magazine*, and William Von Humboldt, the philologist, for his brother, Baron Alexander, the great traveller, in the *Cosmopolitan*. While the intermediate class can be illustrated by Hugh Mercer, who fell at Princeton, drawn from his son, and of Benjamin Harrison, signer of the Declaration of Independence, from Virginia, drawn from his son. Perhaps the most wholesale deception of this kind was perpetrated a generation ago, for the amusement of a most distinguished gentleman, who had no intention of imposing upon any one, but wanted pictures of all of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, although of about a dozen no authentic portraits were in existence. An itinerant artist was employed to supply the deficiencies, and in due time appeared portraits of Thornton, Whipple, Taylor, Smith, Morton, Hart, Rodney, Gwinnett, Penn, Hooper, and Braxton, which are to-day looked upon by the uninitiated as genuine portraits. There is no known portrait of Charles Lee,

second in command of the army of the Revolution, so an enterprising club of illustrators had a portrait of Arthur O'Connor, who led the Irish Guides under Napoleon, engraved, with, beneath it, a facsimile of the signature of Charles Lee. Of Edmund Randolph, Washington's attorney-general and secretary of state, there is no authentic portrait, nor of General Sir William Howe, who occupied Philadelphia in the Revolution. The most commonly seen portrait of Burgoyne, wearing a cocked hat, is not of the general who surrendered at Saratoga, but of his cousin and namesake, who became Sir John Burgoyne in 1780.

This list is quite long enough to show that fake portraits are by far too many; but a few other popular ones must be named to be relegated to the black list and to account for their not appearing here. Of these the most important are of Christopher Columbus and of William Penn. There is certainly no portrait of Columbus, and it is extremely doubtful if there is any of Penn. This, doubtless, will be as great a surprise to many as to hear that there is no authenticated likeness of the Bard of Avon. Yet "'tis true 'tis pity; and pity 'tis 'tis true." In this *resumé* I have drawn only from characters in American history, and not by any means all of them. Were I to cross the ocean, the number would be multiplied many times, but I think I have gone far enough into the subject to make good my cause; and while I have been called upon by publishers and authors repeatedly to assist them in the selection of authentic original life portraits for their books, this is the first time that the use of only such as these, selected and edited by one who has given life-long study to the subject, has been made a special feature of a broad historical work.

Each volume contains an annotated index to the illustrations therein, and each portrait has inscribed upon it the birth and death dates of the subject, and when obtainable the date of

the portrait. As history is but an epitomized chronicle of events in the lives of individuals, these dates form an important and useful adjunct to the text, and at a glance give the age to which the subject attained, and the period of the portrait presented.

CHARLES HENRY HART.

ANNOTATED INDEX TO ILLUSTRATIONS

VOLUME I

Portraits

I. AMERIGO VESPUCCI (1451-1512) 48

When Charles Edward Lester was about to leave Genoa, in 1845, after several years' service as United States Consul, the descendants of Vespucci committed to him, to be brought to this country, what they claimed to be the only authentic original portrait of their ancestor, painted toward the end of his life, in Florence, by the celebrated Bronzino. (*Vide* Lester's "Life of Vespucci," N.Y. 1846.) This portrait I have always understood was committed by Mr. Lester to the care of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and is the one here reproduced, but the records of the society only show that it was given "before 1858, by some one now unknown." If it is an authentic life-portrait of Vespucci, as there seems little room to doubt that it is, then it could not have been painted by Angiolo Allori, called Bronzino, who was a most distinguished portrait painter, as he was but ten years old when Vespucci died. There was a younger Bronzino, Alessandro Allori, who was the son of a painter who died in 1540, but of whom we have no other data, and this latter Bronzino may be the one who painted Vespucci from life and by bearing the same sobriquet as the eminent Florentine painter and poet his painting in course of time, without regard to its chronology, became attributed to the most eminent of the name. In the spring of 1898 there was reported the discovery of a portrait of Amerigo Vespucci, in the Church of Ognissanti in Florence, by the removal of several coats of whitewash from a fresco, by Ghirlandai, of the Vespucci family, painted in 1472, when Amerigo was twenty-one. But while the fresco of the Vespucci family was unquestionably uncovered, the identity of the individual members of the family remains unsolved.

- II. AMHERST, JEFFREY, LORD (1717-1797). By Thomas Gainsborough 266

This portrait has not before been reproduced. The familiar portrait of Amherst is the one in armor after the painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

- III. ANDROS, SIR EDMUND (1637-1714) 172

In 1868, when the photograph reproduced was made, the original portrait was in possession of Amice Charles Andros, Esq., of London and Guernsey, England. I have been unable to ascertain its present whereabouts.

- IV. CARTERET, SIR GEORGE (1599-1679). By Peter Lely . 202

This portrait has not only never before been reproduced, but its existence has not been known heretofore in this country, although it has been much sought after. I am indebted for it to the efforts and courtesy of Major-General Sir Reginald Thynne, K.C.B.

- V. CORNBURY, EDWARD HYDE, LORD (-1723) . . . 198

This grandson of the great Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and himself later third Earl of Clarendon, was cousin to Queen Anne, who appointed him governor of New York, in 1702, from which he was removed for his scandalous conduct in 1708. Strickland says: "Among other apish tricks, Lord Cornbury, the half-witted son of Henry, Earl of Clarendon, is said to have held his state levees at New York dressed up in complete female costume, because truly he represented the person of a female sovereign, his cousin german, Queen Anne." On one occasion he was arrested by the watch and locked up for masquerading in woman's dress and was only released upon proving who he was. These incidents pleased him so much that he had his portrait painted thus, which picture was in the possession of Lord Hampton, who did not care to remove it when he sold Westwood Park to Mr. Partington, a few years since, as it was of no member of his family. I am indebted to the courtesy of Lord Hampton for the photograph here reproduced, who writes, "Cornbury was a relative of the first wife of the Sir John Pakington, of Queen Anne's time, which is no doubt the reason of the picture having come into the family."

- VI. CROMWELL, OLIVER (1599-1658) 114

The miniature here reproduced once belonged to Thomas Jefferson and came to the cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in 1886, from the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, who had received it as a

legacy from Mr. Joseph Coolidge, who had married Jefferson's granddaughter. It has been attributed to the foremost of all miniature painters, Samuel Cooper, who did paint several portraits in little of the Lord Protector; but this clearly is not one of them, being of very mediocre execution.

VII. DINWIDDIE, ROBERT (1690-1770). By Allan Ramsay, 1760 256

VIII. DRAKE, SIR FRANCIS (1540-1596) 82

This portrait, which has not before been reproduced by photo-mechanical process direct from the original canvas, has never been away from Buckland Abbey, the home of Drake, and is attributed by family tradition to the celebrated Dutch painter, Abram Janssens, an attribution that would seem to be very doubtful, considering that Janssens was but nineteen, in 1594, when the portrait was painted; yet it is possible, as Drake was sent on a secret mission to the Netherlands in that year. Contemporary evidence of the approval of this portrait as a correct representation of the great admiral is, as Lady Drake writes, that "twenty years after Drake's death the corporation of Plymouth, composed of men who had known Drake very well indeed, ordered a copy to be made of his picture and they chose to copy the Janssens rather than the Zuccherro, although both were equally available." The Zuccherro portrait of Drake is at Nutwell Court, Lympstone. Lady Drake adds, "I should state that the jewel which hangs around Drake's neck, was a gift from Queen Elizabeth and is still in the possession of the family." This jewel I regret cannot be distinguished in the photograph. The canvas is inscribed "Ætatis suæ 53. Anno 1594." The copy, made by an unknown painter, hangs in the Mayor's parlor in the guild hall at Plymouth, and does sorry justice to the fine original, emphasizing anew what I have said in the introduction as to the worthlessness of copies as portraits. A miniature of Drake by Hilliard, inscribed "Ætatis suæ 42. Ano Dni 1581," belongs to the Earl of Derby. From the dates and ages given on this miniature and on the portrait reproduced, the mean is taken for the year of Drake's birth. I would be more than remiss if I failed to acknowledge the great interest Lady Elizabeth Fuller-Elliott Drake has shown in aiding me to secure the best result.

IX. FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN (1706-1790). By Matthew Pratt, circa 1756 320

The painter's father was an intimate friend of Franklin, which doubtless afforded the young artist the opportunity to paint this

portrait, which remained in the possession of the artist and of his descendants from the time it was painted until a decade ago. It is the earliest authentic portrait of Franklin that is known, and was painted before his second visit to England, and by an American who had received no training out of his native land. It is extremely well done, full of mobility, animation, and character.

X. HOWE, GEORGE AUGUSTUS, 3d VISCOUNT (1724-1758).

By Joshua Reynolds, 1756 258

This interesting portrait of one of the most interesting characters in our colonial history was brought to this country toward the close of the eighteenth century, and has never before been reproduced. The only other known portrait of Lord Howe is in Entick's "History of the Late War," London, 1766. Of him Wolfe wrote to his father, "My Lord Howe, the noblest Englishman that has appeared in my time and the best soldier in the army, fell by the hands of a couple of miscreants that did not dare to stay long enough to see him fall." And Pitt said, "He was by universal voice of army and people, a character of ancient times, a complete model of military virtue in all its branches."

XI. JAMES II, KING OF ENGLAND (1633-1701). By John

Riley 176

XII. LAUD, WILLIAM, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY (1573-1645). By Anthony Van Dyke, 1633. 148

This portrait was painted the year of Laud's elevation to the See of Canterbury, and in his Diary (October 27, 1640) he makes a curious reference to it. "In my upper study hung my picture, taken by the life, and coming in I found it fallen down upon the face and lying on the floor, the string being broken by which it was hanged against the wall. I am almost every day threatened with my ruin in Parliament. 'God grant this to be no omen.'" A replica of this portrait, formerly in the Houghton Collection, is now in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg, and another is at Welbeck Abbey, the seat of the Duke of Portland. It was by special permission of the present Archbishop of Canterbury that the original portrait was photographed for this work.

XIII. MONTCALM, LOUIS JOSEPH, MARQUIS OF (1712-1759) 262

It is to the courtesy of the lineal descendant of the famous French general, the present Marquis de Montcalm, that I am indebted for a photograph from the only original portrait of his ancestor that he knows.

- XIV. MATHER, COTTON (1663-1728). By Peter Pelham,
1727 314

We have chosen to reproduce this print by Pelham, rather than his painting, in the Hall of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass., for the reason that it is of exceeding historical interest as the first known mezzotinto plate scraped in America and, being "*ad vivum pinxit, ab origine fecit et excudit*," is an original portrait. In addition to this the print makes a more satisfactory reproduction than would the old darkened painting.

- XV. OGLETHORPE, JAMES EDWARD (1696-1785). By James
Ireland, 1785 130

This is the only authentic original portrait of Oglethorpe that is known. It was sketched from life by Ireland, who afterward put it on copper, "*del et fecit*," at the sale of Dr. Johnson's library, February 18, 1785, "when the General was reading a book he had purchased, without spectacles." Oglethorpe sat to Reynolds, in 1780, for the Duke of Rutland, but the portrait unfortunately was consumed in the great fire at Belvoir Castle in 1816. Wright, in his "Life of Oglethorpe," says, "A portrait of the General and one of Mrs. Oglethorpe are said to have been in the family of the late Mrs. Dickenson, of Tottenham. . . . Another portrait of the General with his Indian pupil standing by his side, reading, which was presented by himself to Mr. Noble Jones, of Georgia, was lost when Savannah was captured by the British forces in 1778." The familiar theatrical portrait in armor is unauthenticated.

- XVI. POCAHONTAS (1595-1617) 92

After a thorough investigation, there seems little or no reason to doubt the authenticity of this portrait of Pocahontas at the age of twenty-one, painted by an unknown artist of the time in England. It is said to have belonged to Henry Rolfe of Harford, England, a brother of John, not *Thomas*, as the latter-day inscription on the picture makes it, the husband of Pocahontas. In 1887, when the photograph reproduced was made, the portrait was in the possession of Hastings Elwin, Esq., of Gorleston, Great Yarmouth, England, a descendant of the Rolfes. In "Sandrigham Past and Present" (1883), it is said, "The picture itself, which is finely painted, bears every token of genuineness, both as to the assumed period of execution and as to its direct delineation of the living features of the sitter."

- XVII. RALEIGH, SIR WALTER (1554-1618).** Federigo Zucharo, 1588 84
- This portrait of Raleigh, attributed to Zucharro or Zucharo, is inscribed "Ætatis Svæ 14 ANo 1588." Aubrey describes the picture. "In the great parlour of Downton, at Mr. Raleigh's, is a good piece (original) of Sir W. in a white sattin doublet, all embroidered with rich pearles, and a mighty rich chaine of great pearles about his neck. The old servants have told me that the pearles were neer as big as the painted ones. He had a most remarkable aspect, an exceeding high forehead, long faced, and sour eie-lidded, a kind of pigge-eie."
- XVIII. SPOTSWOOD, ALEXANDER (1676-1740)** 304
- I am indebted to the owner, a descendant of Governor Spotswood, or Spottiswood, for the use of this portrait.
- XIX. STUYVESANT, PETER (1602-1682)** 190
- I am indebted to the owner, a descendant of Governor Stuyvesant, through Mr. Rutherford Stuyvesant, for the use of this portrait.
- XX. WHITEFIELD, GEORGE (1714-1770).** By John Wollaston 138
- He is represented preaching to a small congregation, and the lady immediately in front is supposed to represent Mrs. James, of Abergavenny, whom Whitfield married.
- XXI. WINSLOW, EDMUND (1595-1655)** 142
- This portrait is the only authentic likeness of a Mayflower pilgrim. It was painted, in 1651, in England, where Winslow was from 1646 to 1654.
- XXII. WINTHROP, JOHN (1588-1649)** 156
- This portrait has long hung in the Senate Chamber of Massachusetts. It has been attributed to Vandyke, but it clearly is not by that master.

Miscellaneous

- XXIII. BOSTON, VIEW OF THE TOWN OF, 1768.** By Paul Revere 160
- This excessively rare print, 9.14 × 15.10, contains the title in a ribbon across the field at top, and in the lower right corner a dedication to the Earl of Hillsborough. Below is an explanatory key with four lines of text. I am indebted to Dr. Warren for the courteous permission to reproduce it.

XXIV. CHARLESTOWN, S.C., PROSPECT OF, 1739. By B. ROBERTS 126

This rare print measures 55 × 19.8 inches.

XXV. COLUMBUS, THE LANDING OF CHRISTOPHER. By Savage and Edwin *frontis.*

As already stated in the introduction, there is no authentic portrait of the discoverer of America, and I have chosen for an illustration this rare print by David Edwin, often called the American Bartolozzi, and which is the most important plate engraved by him (22.11 × 14.13). It is also interesting from the original painting, by Edward Savage, being one of the earliest historical compositions painted here, and which for many years hung in the old Museum in Boston, until destroyed by fire. Its title is "Painted by E. Savage. — Engraved by D. Edwin. | The Landing of Christopher Columbus | On the morning of October 12th 1492. | Columbus (richly dressed) with a drawn sword in his hand | First set his foot on the New World, which he had discovered. The Portrait of Columbus is copied from | the original picture in the collection of the Grand Duke of Tuscany at Florence | Philada. Publish'd by E. Savage, Jan'y 1st 1800."

XXVI. ELIOT'S INDIAN BIBLE, TITLE PAGE TO, 1663 . . . 310

The size of page of this much-prized and very rare volume is 4.14 × 6.12 inches.

XXVII. FRANKLIN'S CATO MAJOR, TITLE PAGE TO, 1744 . . . 32

This is conceded to be the finest production of Franklin's press and is really a beautiful specimen of the typographic art of the time. It is an octavo, 3.11 × 6.11, pp. viii, 159.

XXVIII. LOUISBOURG 240

"A View of the Landing the New England Forces in ye Expedition against Cape Breton 1745 | When after a siege of 40 days the Town and Fortress of LOUISBOURG and the important Territories thereto belonging were recovered to the British Empire | The brave and active Commodore Warren, since made Knight of ye Bath and Vice Admiral of ye White, commanded the British Squadron in this glorious Expedition. The Hon. Willm. Pepperell Esq | (since knighted) went a Voluntier & Commanded the New England men who bravely offer'd their services and went as private soldiers in this hazardous but very glorious enterprise."

XXIX. NEW AMSTERDAM, 1650. By Laurens Hermans ze Block 178

The original water-color drawing was made from on board the ship *Lydia*, and is said to have hung, in its present elaborately carved frame, in the home office of the Dutch West India Company.

XXX. NEW YORK, A south prospect of ye Flourishing city of, in the Province of New York in North America, 1717. By William Burgis 194

This print, 77 × 29.8 inches, is divided, for reproduction, with the right half above the left half. It is dedicated to Robert Hunter, Captain General, and Governor-in-chief of the Province, etc. It was reissued in 1746, with a dedication to "His Excellency George Clinton Esq."

XXXI. PENN'S TREATY WITH THE INDIANS. By Benjamin West 214

There being no portrait of William Penn that is free from doubt, we have reproduced West's well-known picture, 102 × 72 inches, painted at the request of the Penn family, in whose possession it remained until 1851, when it was purchased from Granville John Penn, by Joseph Harrison, Jr., of Philadelphia, and brought to this city and deposited by him in the old State House. The scene represented is purely mythical, and West's picture is largely responsible for the preservation of the fable, of the formal treaty "not sworn to and never broken" under the wide-spreading elm at Shackamaxon, just north of the city of Philadelphia. Penn made three treaties with the natives in 1683, and it is probably the second one, of June 23, that is commemorated by the illustration.

XXXII. PHILADELPHIA, SOUTHEAST PROSPECT OF, 1720. By Peter Cooper 218

This painting was sent by the Hon. George M. Dallas, Minister from the United States to England, to the Library Company of Philadelphia, in 1857, it having been discovered by a member of Parliament in an old curiosity shop in London. Its date is believed to be 1720, which would seem to be about correct from the buildings represented and from the further fact that the "Minutes of Councils" show that "Peter Cooper Painter" was admitted a Freeman of the city May 27, 1717. The painting is on canvas 9.8 × 85 inches and has been divided in the reproduction with the right half below the left half.

XXXIII. PHILIP, KING OF MOUNT HOPE. By Paul Revere . 164

This of course is not pretended to be a portrait of the celebrated Rhode Island chief who died in 1676, but it is a curious picture by Paul Revere, engraved to illustrate "The Entertaining History of King Philip's War. By Thomas Church. Newport, R.I., 1772."

XXXIV. SAVANAH, A VIEW OF, as it stood the 29th of March, 1734. By Peter Gordon 134

This rare print is 22 x 18 inches.

XXXV. WOLFE, DEATH OF. By Benjamin West. 1771 . . . 270

There being no portrait of the hero of Quebec satisfactorily authenticated, we reproduce the famous painting that marks as important an epoch in the arts as the event commemorated does in the history of this continent. Up to the time of West's painting this canvas, modern historical events had been pictorially represented in classical costume, and it was left to the Pennsylvanian Quaker to revolutionize art by introducing the modern dress actually worn on the occasion. Such a clamor was raised against the innovation that West's patron, King George, refused to take the picture, and it was purchased out of the exhibition at the Royal Academy by Lord Grosvenor, and the original is now at Grosvenor House, the town residence of the Duke of Westminster. No sooner did the king learn that he had lost the picture than he came to his senses and ordered a replica from West, which is the one reproduced, now at Hampton Court Palace, London. The canvas is 60 x 84 inches.

XXXVI. ZENGER, First page of the first edition of the trial of John Peter, 1736 206

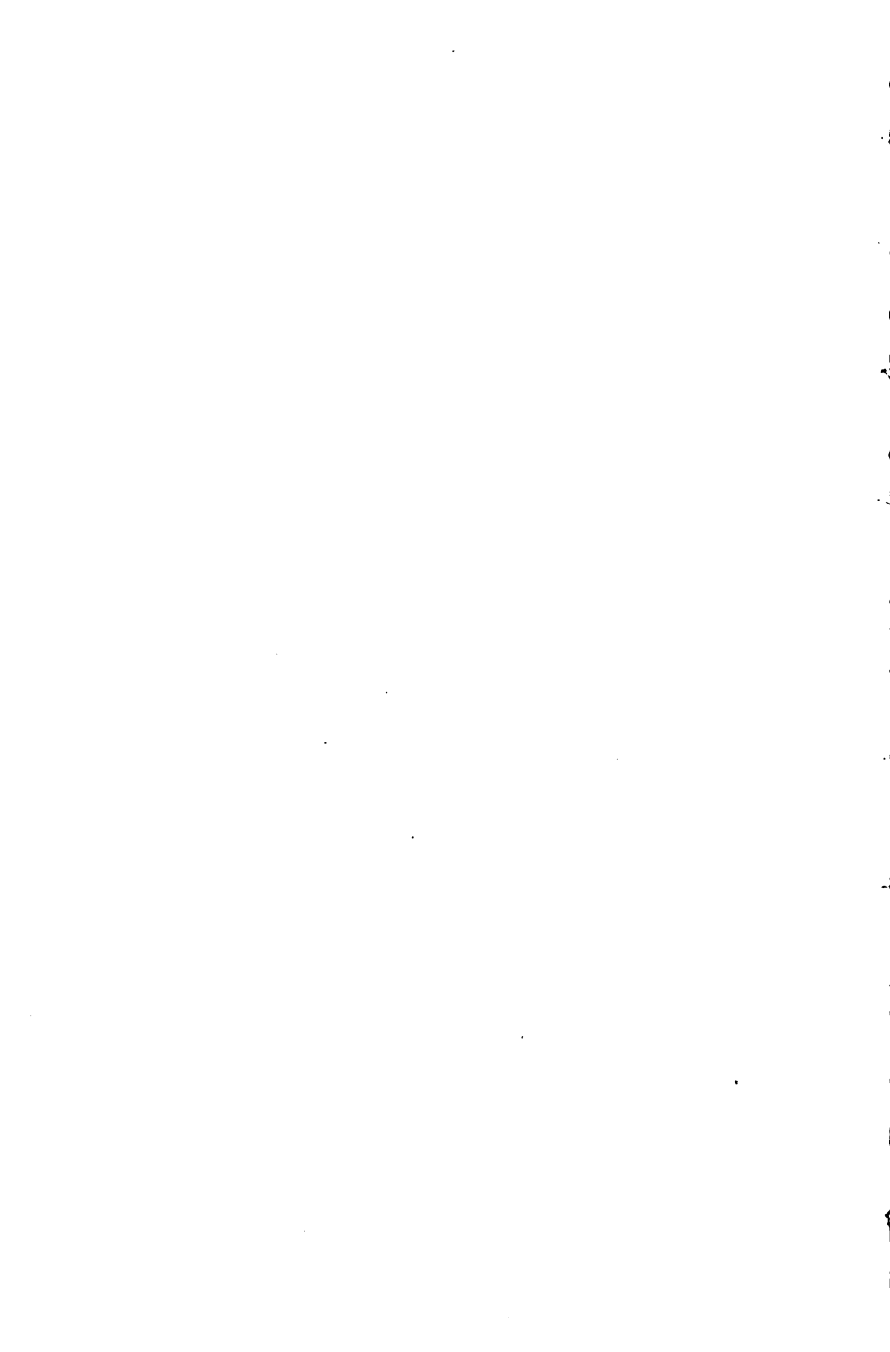
This is a folio, 5.12 x 9.9, of twenty leaves, and after the colophon at the end of the last page is the imprint "New York Printed and sold by John Peter Zenger MDCCXXXVI." The trial took place in New York on April 4, 1735, and this narrative was advertised for publication in the *New York Weekly Journal* of September 23. But it was not until June 21, 1736, that it was announced as "Just published."

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HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER I

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS AND THE AGE OF DISCOVERY

IN the world of history we find here and there the name of some commanding genius that stands out as a landmark, and shines with a luster that time has no power to dim. Such is the name of Christopher Columbus.

It will hardly be disputed, that among rulers and statesmen of all time Julius Cæsar must be placed at the head; that among military leaders the greatest the world has yet known was Napoleon Bonaparte; and that in the still higher domain of literature William Shakespeare holds the foremost place. And it is no less true that the name of Columbus stands at the head of the list of navigators and discoverers.

SPIRIT OF THE AGE

At this point it is well to give passing notice to the historic setting of the career of Columbus. For immemorial ages Europe had enjoyed commercial relations with Asia. But in the seventh and eighth centuries the Saracen invaders came near destroying these relations. The Mohammedan hordes became masters of North Africa and of Spain, and Christian Europe was cut off from the East as never before. Of all the European cities Constantinople alone retained a flourishing trade with the East.

At length, near the end of the tenth century, the Seljukian Turks, a nomadic, half-civilized people of Central Asia, became converted to the religion of Islam, and in their zeal for the new religion and for conquest they soon began to encroach upon the Byzantine Empire. Early in the eleventh century they had spread their blighting power over Armenia and Asia Minor, destroying a noble civilization and substituting their own barbarous mode of life. The menace to Christendom was appalling, for the terrible Turk seemed insatiable in his greed of conquest. Then it was that Christian Europe awoke to the necessity of self-defense, and the result was a series of uprisings, known in history as the Crusades. These Crusades, seven in number, covering nearly two centuries, were undertaken for the purpose of rescuing the Savior's tomb from the hands of the infidel and of restoring to the Christian zealot his time-honored privilege of making a pilgrimage to the holy city of Jerusalem. This result was not permanently achieved, but the commercial results were great and lasting. The Crusades not only checked the Mohammedan invasion, they also brought about a diffusion in Europe of a wider knowledge of Asiatic lands and peoples and created a greater demand for their products.

Meantime the city of Venice became a rival of Constantinople in trading with the Indies; and at length Genoa became the rival of Venice and allied itself with Constantinople. The southeastern portion of Asia, with the numberless adjacent islands, was known as the Indies; and the term had also a general use which included the islands of Cipango, or Japan, and parts of China, known by the poetic name of Cathay. There were two important routes of trade with the Indies. The favorite route of the Venetian trade was chiefly by water, by way of Cairo, the Red Sea, and the In-

dian Ocean, while Genoa took the northern route by way of the Bosphorus, the Black Sea, and thence overland by various routes by means of caravans. The goods sent to the Orient were chiefly linen, light woolen goods, coral, glass vessels, and wine; those received in return and distributed over Europe from Venice and Genoa were spices, ivory and pearls, silks, and precious stones. The routes were long and laborious and fraught with many perils. The goods changed hands several times in the long journey, and the Europeans never met the people of India. They believed Cathay to be a vast empire of fabulous wealth, of gilded cities, and of mighty rivers.

The rivalry in Eastern trade had continued for a long period between these two Italian cities, when one of the routes was suddenly blocked by one of the great events of history—the fall of Constantinople. For more than a thousand years the city of Constantine, beautiful for situation above all the capital cities of the world, had been one of the chief centers of Christendom; but the detestable Turk, now of the Ottoman type, had again, since the last Crusade, been extending his baleful influence over the eastern Mediterranean and tightening his coils about the city on the Bosphorus—and at last it fell into his power and the crescent supplanted the cross. The Moslem now made hazardous the use of the Bosphorus and the Black Sea to the Christian trader, and his corsairs plowed the eastern Mediterranean in search of Christian plunder. Thus an important route to the Indies was closed.

This checking of the Eastern trade at a moment when Asiatic products had become a necessity to Europe caused the idea to take possession slowly of men's minds that some other route, an "outside route," to the far-off "land where the

spices grow" might be found. But first we must glance at the

THEORIES OF THE EARTH AND GEOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE

For many ages before the time of Columbus there was a general belief among scholars that the earth is a sphere. This doctrine was taught by Pythagoras, nearly six hundred years before Christ, by Plato, by Aristotle, and later by nearly all the leaders of thought down through the Middle Ages.¹

There was some vague notion of an antipodal world, yet how men of the opposite side of the earth could walk with their heads downward was a question that puzzled the wisest; for no Newton had yet risen to tell the world of the law of gravitation, and no Copernicus to teach that the earth is but a ball swinging in space, and that "upward" and "downward" are but relative terms.²

For centuries the boldest navigators were deterred from venturing far into the unknown seas, because popular fancy had filled them with impassable barriers. It was believed

¹ Aristotle, in the fourth century B.C., declared that those who connect the region in the neighborhood of the Pillars of Hercules with that toward India, and also assert in this way that the sea is one, do not assert things very improbable. Eratosthenes, in the third century B.C., said, "If the extent of the Atlantic was not too great, one might easily sail from Iberia (Spain) to India." Strabo, in the first century A.D., quoted him with approval and added, "It is quite possible that in the temperate zone there may be one or more habitable lands." Seneca prophesied that, "In tardy years the epoch will come in which the ocean will unloose the bonds of nature, and the great sea will stretch out and the sea will disclose new worlds."

² Copernicus was born in 1473—while Columbus was at Lisbon. His theory of the solar system is now universally accepted.

Newton lived nearly two centuries later. He was born in the year in which Galileo, the greatest pupil of Copernicus, died—the year that marks the opening of the war against Charles I in England—1642.

that the earth was belted in the center with a fiery zone where the vertical rays of the sun were unbearable, where the seas boiled with fury, and where vegetable and animal life could not endure. It was also believed that Europe occupied the top of the terrestrial ball, that the ocean sloped downward in all directions, and that if a ship passed too far down, it would never be able to return. Still another belief was that the remote region of the outer ocean, the Sea of Darkness, as the Atlantic was called, was inhabited by dreadful gorgons and sea monsters, while above the waters hovered a gigantic bird so large that it could seize a ship in its talons and fly away with it into the upper air.³ No theory was too extravagant for belief during this period. It was believed by many, and even taught in the schools, that the redness of the sun in the evening was caused by his looking down upon hell.⁴

Most of these fantastic theories, however, were exploded before the active career of Columbus began. In 1487 Bartholomew Diaz of Portugal completed a voyage, the greatest in history up to that time. He sailed down the African coast, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, proceeded some hundreds of miles into the Indian Ocean, and returned to Lisbon by the same route. The entire voyage had covered thirteen thousand miles. The fiery zone had been passed, no sea monsters had been encountered, and the homeward journey had seemed no more uphill than the outward trip. Other great voyages were made with like results. No one after this gave credence to the wild theories that had so long controlled the popular mind.

Geographical knowledge during the Middle Ages was

³ Higginson's "History of the United States," p. 56.

⁴ Adams's "Columbus," p. 28.

meager. The ancients believed that the outer unknown world was composed chiefly of water. This theory was also maintained by Mela, who flourished about the middle of the first century of the Christian era, and was known as the Oceanic Theory. But Claudius Ptolemy, who wrote a hundred years later, advocated the theory that Asia extended



MELA'S IDEA OF THE WORLD, A.D. 50.

interminably to the north and east in vast deserts and impenetrable swamps, that Africa extended indefinitely southward, and that the two continents met somewhere in the far Southeast and inclosed the Indian Ocean. This theory gained general acceptance and was known as the Continental Theory.

This Ptolemaic view held sway in mediæval Europe for

more than a thousand years. But about the middle of the thirteenth century certain travelers to the far East reported in Europe that Asia was not a *terra incognita* of boundless extent, but that an ocean lay east of Cathay. A half century later this fact was confirmed in the remarkable production of Marco Polo.

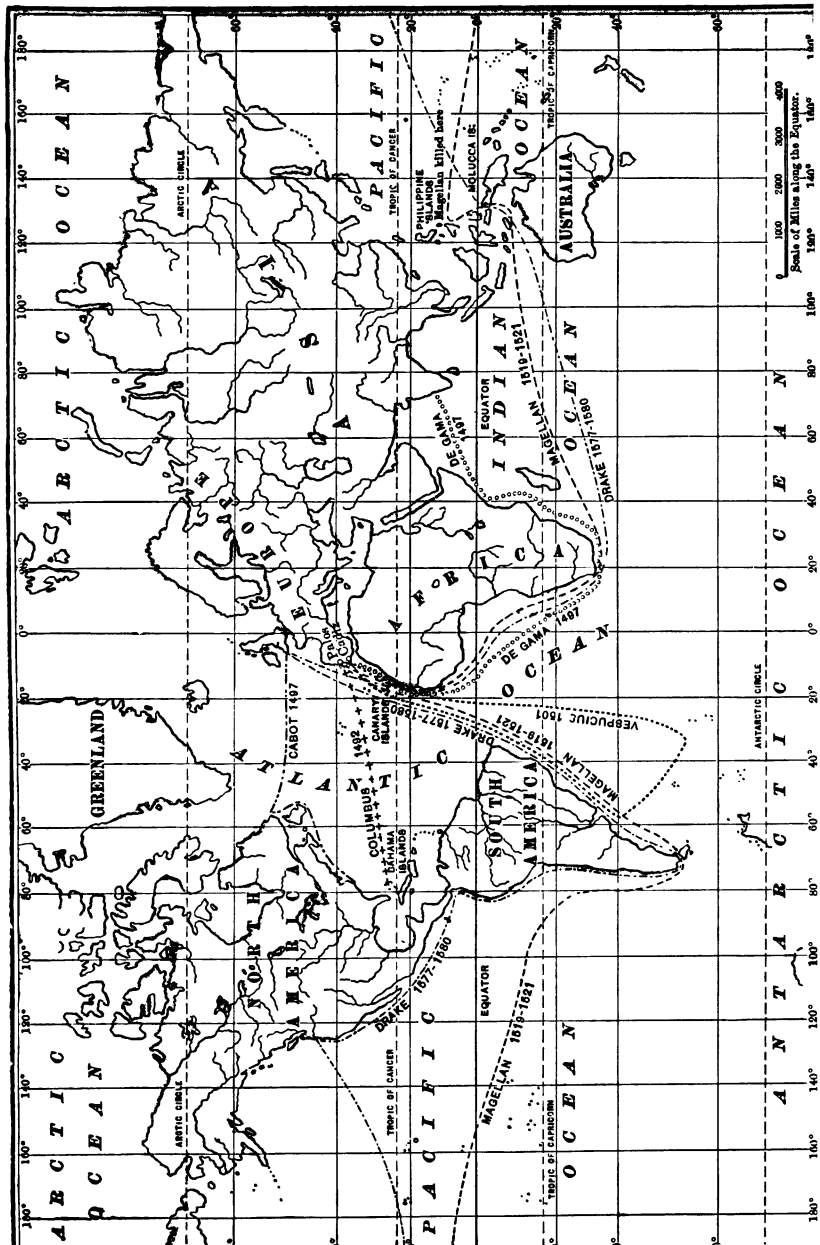
The Polos were a wealthy family of Venice. When Marco was a boy of seventeen his father, a wealthy merchant, made a trading journey to the far East and took the boy with him. For four years they journeyed over mountains and through deserts, trading as they went, until they reached the famous empire of Cathay. Marco was taken into the service of the great emperor known as Kublai Khan, was made a high official, and here he remained for many years. At length he returned to the home of his childhood, reaching Venice in 1295, after an absence of twenty-four years. Soon after this Venice and Genoa were at war. In a sea fight the Genoese were successful, and Marco Polo among others was taken captive and was cast into prison. Here he became intimate with a fellow-prisoner to whom he related his travels in the East. His friend wrote the words as they fell from Polo's lips, and afterward they were published in book form as "The Book of Marco Polo concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East." It described Tibet and Burmah, and Hindustan, Siam, and China. It told of the gorgeous landscapes, the towered cities, the beautiful rivers. It confirmed also the growing belief that there was an ocean east of Asia. The book was one of the most remarkable productions of the Middle Ages, and, like Raleigh's "History of the World," and Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," owed its existence to a prison cell. No other book had ever appeared in Europe that contributed so much to the knowledge of the East as did

the book of Polo. In the centuries following various Europeans sailed into China seas, so that by the time of the fall of Constantinople it was a well-known fact that an ocean washed the eastern coast of Asia. How natural then, since the earth was known to be a globe, for men to conclude that the ocean west of Europe might be the same as that east of Asia; and if so, a western voyage must bring the mariner to the Indies of the East. This belief rendered it certain that the New World would have been discovered, even though by accident, had Christopher Columbus never lived.

But although the theory of the fiery zone and the devouring sea monsters had been exploded, and the mariner's compass had come into general use, no navigator was yet bold enough to venture to cross the Sea of Darkness. It was believed that a route to the Indies could be found by sailing around Africa. Portugal, leaning to the Oceanic Theory, took the lead in this great enterprise, and Portugal was led by Prince Henry the Navigator, who was also a prince in fostering education and science.⁵ He inspired many important voyages and among them the famous voyage of Diaz, mentioned above, which took place a score of years after the death of Henry.⁶ But the distance to the Indies by the African route was very great, even if feasible, and thoughtful men of the maritime world cast their eyes longingly toward the unknown West—and here we must introduce the great discoverer, Christopher Columbus.

⁵ Prince Henry was a cousin of King Henry V of England and an uncle of King John of Portugal. He stood among the leading astronomers and mathematicians of his time. He died in 1463.

⁶ The geographical position of Italy prevented its taking the lead in discovery, but Italy was the school of navigation for the world, and the greatest of the discoverers of this period—Columbus, Cabot, Vesputius, and Verrazano—were all Italians. See Payne's "History of America," Vol. I, p. 95.





EARLY LIFE OF COLUMBUS

One of the most beautiful of the Italian cities is Genoa, the birthplace of the discoverer of America. The city is built on the southern slope of the Apennines, between the summit of the mountains and the northern shore of the Mediterranean Sea, and as one approaches from the sea, the city with its palaces and cathedrals, rising tier above tier, presents a sublime and impressive appearance. It was here that Christopher Columbus was born.¹ The exact date of his birth cannot be determined. The older writers placed it about 1436; but recent investigators favor a later date. Tradition informs us that his father, Dominico Columbus, was a wool comber, and it seems that the family had for several generations followed the same handicraft. Christopher had two brothers younger than himself, Bartholomew and Diego, and a sister of whom nothing is known. Not much is known of the boyhood of Columbus. It is certain that the family were respectable, but not of special influence nor in possession of wealth. The education of Christopher was not extensive nor profound. In addition to the common studies he probably learned Latin, higher mathematics, and astronomy; and in nautical science and cosmography he was a life-long student and acquired all the learning of the age in which he lived.

While yet a child the attention of Columbus was turned toward the sea. His voyages on the Mediterranean began when he was a boy of fourteen, and by the time he reached his majority he was a hardy and skillful mariner. Some of his voyages were purely in the pursuit of commerce; in

¹ No less than sixteen Italian towns have claimed to be the birthplace of the great navigator. Columbus, however, refers in his writings to Genoa as the place of his birth.

others he was engaged in naval struggles between the warring Italian states. On one occasion he commanded a vessel which engaged in a death duel with a huge Venetian galley. The two ships grappled, and the crews fought hand to hand for several hours, many being slain, when at length both vessels took fire. Most of those remaining perished. Columbus saved his life by leaping into the sea and swimming to shore, six miles distant.⁸

About 1470 Columbus abandoned his native land and became a resident of Lisbon.⁹ He was doubtless attracted to that city by its reputation of being the chief center in Europe for nautical science and by its great activity in promoting discovery. Here for many years Columbus made his home, supporting himself by making maps and charts, taking an occasional voyage down the African coast to the Cape Verde Islands, the Azores, and once far into the North, touching the coast of Iceland.¹⁰ He was a man of striking appearance, tall and muscular, courtly in manner, and affable in conversation. His eyes were light gray, his cheeks ruddy as those of a boy, while his hair was waving and as white as snow.¹¹ He was received in the upper circles of society, and ere he had been many years in his adopted city he married and from this time on he seems to have had greater opportunity to study the one subject nearest his heart.¹² At

⁸ This story, given by Columbus's son Fernando, is doubted by some critics.

⁹ Vignaud believes that Columbus did not arrive at Lisbon before 1476.

¹⁰ The voyage to Iceland is known only by tradition.

¹¹ This description is from Las Casas, who knew Columbus. Las Casas further says that Columbus was rough in character and passionate when irritated. None of the well-known portraits of Columbus are accepted as authentic.

¹² It is said that his wife's father, now dead, had been a noted

this period also he conceived that greater thought which became henceforth the guiding star of his life.

The belief that the East could be reached by sailing westward was held by many learned men, and was not original with Columbus; but he was the first and the only man of his time who was ready to risk his all in an attempt to demonstrate the theory. For this he deserves a place among the greatest characters of history.

Columbus had been in correspondence with the great Florentine astronomer, Toscanelli,¹³ who had sent him a map of the earth showing that there was but one ocean between Europe and Asia, and expressing his belief that the latter could be reached by sailing westward from the former. Columbus was also versed in the writings of Ptolemy, of Roger Bacon, and of Marco Polo. Polo's book, though nearly two hundred years old, made a deep impression on the mind of Columbus and had much to do in shaping his life. He read also the great work of Cardinal d'Ailly, "Imago Mundi,"¹⁴ and all these things he pondered in his heart. The result was he reached the conclusion, which became the settled conviction of his mind, not only that the East could be reached by sailing to the West, but also that God had raised him up to accomplish this great work for mankind—and from this conviction he never wavered to the last day of his life.

navigator and the maps and charts he left now came into the possession of Columbus.

¹³ Vignaud, in a recent work, "La Lettre et La Carte de Toscanelli," tr. London, 1902, aims to prove that Columbus had no communication with Toscanelli. His argument is very strong and leaves the matter in doubt. Columbus makes no reference to the astronomer in his writings.

¹⁴ A copy of this great work, with marginal notes in the handwriting of Columbus, is still preserved in the library at Seville.

COLUMBUS AND THE SOVEREIGNS

Henceforth this great thought was the dominant force in the career of Columbus. It became the ruling passion of his life, and entered into all his acts. He had not the means to carry out his great project, nor did he feel that it came within the province of private enterprise. The work was too important and too vast for the individual; it was worthy to be the work of a nation. Columbus therefore applied to John II, king of Portugal, laid open his plans, and requested that he be sent on the great mission of discovery. The king was inclined to hear; but first he would consult with the wise men of his kingdom. He called them together, and they condemned the scheme as visionary.

King John now did a thing that was unworthy of him, for in the main he was a man of probity and justice. He noted the plans of Columbus and sent out a secret expedition to make the proposed discovery; but it resulted in nothing. Columbus, hearing of this treachery, left Portugal in dudgeon and repaired to Spain. He left his home, his wife, and his children, taking with him only his eldest boy, a child of tender years, whom he left with a relative in Andalusia. This was probably in 1485, and soon afterward he was at Cordova laying his plans before the sovereigns of Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella. But it was difficult to get a hearing from these at this time, for Spain was in the midst of a long war with the Moors. As the sovereigns moved from place to place in pursuit of the enemy, Columbus followed—to Salamanca, to Malaga, and again to Cordova—and pressed his suit with unwearied energy. The sovereigns at length referred him to Talavera, the queen's confessor, who again referred the matter to a junto of learned men. Some of them believed in his project, but the majority con-

demned it, and after several years of incessant toil Columbus had done nothing. He had already sent his brother Bartholomew to England to lay the matter before Henry VII, and was now about to quit Spain and apply to the court of France, when he made the acquaintance of the Duke Medina Celi. The duke became interested in his plans and took him into his own home, where he entertained him for two years. He sought to interest the sovereigns in the plans of his new-formed friend; they offered to consider the subject seriously as soon as the war was over; but Columbus thought this only a courtly way of getting rid of him, and at last, sick at heart, he again determined to leave Spain.

For six or seven years he had labored in season and out of season; he had been jeered in the streets and pointed out as a dreamer and a fanatic. But his lofty soul was unmoved. He met every discouragement with an undaunted spirit. He now called for his little boy and turned his back upon Spain, still undismayed, still determined to achieve the goal of his ambition. In his journey afoot he called at the Franciscan Monastery La Rabida and asked for bread and water for his child. This was probably in the autumn of the year 1491. While here he again related the story of his ambition. The prior, Juan Perez, who had been confessor to the queen and was greatly esteemed by her, heard and believed. His patriotism was aroused. Why, thought he, should Spain throw away so great an opportunity? He interested several others, one of whom was Alonzo Pinzon, who became captain of one of the vessels in the great voyage that was to follow. Perez also dispatched a messenger to the queen begging an interview. On the fourteenth day afterward the messenger returned with the desired invitation, and by midnight Perez was on his way to the royal court at Grana-

da. He related to the queen anew the story that she had often heard before. He spoke of the grandeur of Columbus's views, and defended the scientific principles on which they were based. He dwelt on the glory that would come to Spain if the venture should succeed, and the trifling loss should it fail. This proved the turning point in the life of Columbus, and Perez was his benefactor.

Queen Isabella was converted. She sent Perez back with a sum of money for Columbus, bidding him array himself properly and come into her presence. Columbus arrived in time to witness the fall of Granada, January 2, 1492. After eight centuries on Spanish soil the Moslem was conquered at last, and as Boabdil, the last of the Moorish kings, slowly and sadly passed outside the city gates, weeping over his fallen empire, the Spanish banners were unfurled over the crumbling walls of the Alhambra. Spain was delirious with joy; and as soon as the festivities occasioned by the great victory had subsided, the sovereigns granted a careful hearing to the waiting navigator.

But there were discouragements yet in store for this heroic soul. When he laid his plans before the king and queen, his conditions were such that they refused to accept them. He demanded that he be made admiral of the ocean and viceroy of the heathen lands he might discover, and also that he receive one-eighth of the income from such lands, and one-tenth of all the profits by trade or conquest, offering at the same time to bear one-eighth of the expense of the voyage.¹⁵ The terms were not accepted, the council broke up, and Columbus for a third time determined to seek aid in a foreign land. He mounted his mule and started toward

¹⁵ Pinzon had made this offer to Columbus. The voyage is estimated to have cost a sum equivalent to nearly \$100,000. See Thatcher's "Columbus," I, p. 490.

France.¹⁸ Scarcely had he gone when Santangel, the royal treasurer, rushed into the presence of the queen and implored her with impassioned eloquence not to let the golden opportunity slip away. He spoke of the incalculable gain if Columbus's dream should become a reality, and how deep would be their regret should some rival nation obtain the treasure that Spain had thrown away. The Marchioness de Moya, who had long been a friend of Columbus, added her eloquence, and Isabella was again converted. She dispatched a messenger to inform Columbus that his terms would be accepted. The messenger overtook him when six miles on his way and told him the great news. Columbus quietly turned about and rode back into the city.

THE VOYAGE

The most famous of all sea voyages began on the morning of Friday, August 3, 1492, about an hour before sunrise. After several months of preparation three little ships or caravels had been fitted out, the *Santa Maria*, the *Pinta*, and the *Nina*, only one of which was a decked vessel. A motley crowd composed the crews of these vessels. When it was learned what the destination of the voyage was, the greatest difficulty was experienced in securing a crew. This would hardly have been possible but for the twofold error under which Columbus labored. He believed the earth to be smaller than it is, and that Asia extended much farther to the east than it does. Never was there a more fortunate mistake, for had the distance been known, the securing of his crew would have been scarcely possible. Even as it was,

¹⁸ Some look upon this act of Columbus as obstinate and showing a want of tact. Others regard the demands of Columbus and the high value at which he placed his services, in spite of his former discouragements, as the highest indication of genius.

the hardest sailors shrank from an enterprise so daring and so uncertain in its outcome. The government was obliged to use force. Men were pressed into the service, some of whom were criminals released from prison for this purpose. At length ninety mariners with a physician, a surgeon, an interpreter of Asiatic languages, a metallurgist, and a few others, aggregating in all one hundred and twenty souls, were got together, and the voyage was begun. Columbus, who was now an admiral, commanded the largest vessel, the *Santa Maria*; Alonzo Pinzon, a navigator of note, was captain of the *Pinta*, and his brother Vincent of the *Nina*. With tears and lamentations the friends of the departing ones bade them good-by, for it was generally believed that they were setting out on a journey from which none would return. The sailors, as well as their friends, were fully convinced that a voyage across the unexplored Sea of Darkness was fraught with unknown perils, and their minds were filled with ominous forebodings. Six days after leaving Palos they reached the Canary Islands, and here a sudden eruption of Mt. Teneriffe filled the men anew with consternation; they interpreted it as an evil omen.¹⁷ The admiral allayed their fears by explaining the cause of such eruptions as best he could, and by citing Mt. Aetna and other volcanoes whose frequent eruptions had no particular meaning attached to them. The first week of September had passed when they left the last of the Canaries behind and were fairly launched upon the open sea. As the men gazed fondly upon the receding shore, dissolving at length into a pale blue line on the verge of the horizon, and then disappearing beneath the waters, they broke into wails and

¹⁷ These incidents are from the account of Las Casas, who received them from Columbus's journal, which has been lost.

sobs. It seemed to them as the last farewell of the land of home. Behind them were family, home, and friends,—all that was lovable and loving; before them was the vast dark sea, whose silent depths seemed the more ominous from its very silence.

Sailors are the most superstitious of men, and even in our modern days of geographical knowledge, of steam, and of ironclads, everything that breaks the monotonous life on the ocean wave attracts attention and has its meaning. How much more was this true in the time of Columbus. He and his crew had launched out into the region of the unknown; their ships were small and weak, and the ocean through which they plowed was fathomless in its depths and measureless in expanse; never before had it been explored by civilized man, and moreover, in popular fancy, it had for ages been peopled with shapeless monsters and unknown terrors. What wonder that Columbus had trouble in allaying the fears of his subordinates!

Day after day the three caravels glided through the waters. The weather was fine almost throughout the voyage, says Columbus in his journal; but fine weather and fair winds had little power to remove the superstitious fears of the sailors. They were forever on the watch for some dreadful happening.

Early in the voyage they noticed the fragment of a mast floating in the water, and they quickly decided that it must be the remains of some hapless wanderer as foolhardy as themselves. It seemed as the bones of the slain traveler in front of the murderer's cave warning the passer-by not to enter.

One of the most alarming incidents of the voyage was the deflection of the needle. It pointed no longer to the

north star, but deflected slightly to the northwest. The pilots were alarmed; they feared that the very laws of nature were changing, and they were surely entering into another world. Columbus himself did not understand this variation of the needle, but he affected to have no fears, and explained it apparently to the satisfaction of his followers. Again, the Sargasso Sea, unknown to them before, awakened all sorts of wild conjectures and presages of evil. The constant blowing of the trade winds in the same direction led them to believe that it would never change, and they would therefore never be able to return home. Indeed, everything possible was construed into a cause of alarm. Columbus alone remained undaunted; he had absolute confidence in success, and he believed himself directly under the guidance of Heaven.

After sailing westward for two or three weeks the voyagers became deeply interested in their outlook for land. Various signs indicated that it could not be far off. Tropical birds that are not supposed to reach mid-ocean in their flight were seen from time to time; floating seaweed sometimes gave them hope. On September 25, Pinzon shouted from the stern of his vessel, "Land, land, Senior, I claim my reward."¹⁸ They all looked to the southwest, the direction in which he pointed, and indeed there seemed to be land. Columbus fell on his knees and thanked God; the crew sang the *Te Deum*; the night was spent in rejoicing. But lo! when the morning arose the dream was dissolved, and only the unbroken expanse of water lay before them in its merciless boundlessness. They had seen only a mirage

¹⁸ A reward of 10,000 maravedis per year (probably equal to \$420 of our money. See Thatcher, I, p. 490) had been offered by the sovereigns of Spain to the one who first sighted land.

or a thin stratum of cloud lying low on the horizon. Frequently they were deceived by the distant banks of clouds or by fog, and their hopes were raised again and again only to be dashed to the ground. After the voyagers had sailed steadily westward from the Canaries for an entire month without sight of land, the crew became more despondent and restless; they begged their commander to turn back while there was still a chance to reach home and civilization. Columbus was inflexible. From the moment they left Palos he had not faltered, and now he had no thought of yielding to the clamors of the sailors. Now he would dilate on the honor and fortune that awaited them; again he would threaten to place the leaders in irons, if they persisted.

It must be confessed, however, that Columbus was himself puzzled. He had firmly believed that by sailing twenty-five hundred miles to the west he would reach the islands of Cipango; and that the gorgeous empire of Cathay was but a few hundred miles farther on. They had now traversed twenty-seven hundred miles of trackless ocean, and no land yet appeared. He had kept two reckonings of the distance they had come,—a true and a false one, the former for himself and the latter to deceive the sailors, as he feared that if they knew how far they were from Europe, nothing could induce them to proceed.

Columbus was perplexed at not finding land. There is no evidence, however, that he wavered in his purpose or was inclined to turn back. But, being urged by Pinzon, he now decided to change his course. Had they continued their westward course for a few days longer, they would have reached the coast of Florida; but this, of course, they did not know, and the many flights of small birds, always going to the southwest, convinced them that land must be

nearest in that direction. They accordingly stood to the southwest, and in this direction they sailed steadily for three days and yet no land appeared.

The crew now became more hopeless than ever. They felt as if they were in a world of enchantment, where the signs of land were but delusions alluring them on and on to destruction. Old seafaring men were appalled at the thought of their vast distance from home, and the apparent boundlessness of the ocean in which they sailed. But on the morning of October 11 the signs of land were so unmistakable that the most reluctant could doubt no longer. A floating branch of thorn with berries on it, a staff carved by the hand of man, and weeds that grow only on land—all these were picked up from the water on that morning. All were now convinced that land was near, and that it was a matter of but a few days at most when the discovery would be made. The three caravels that night presented a scene of suspense and eager expectancy; not an eye was closed in sleep. About ten o'clock Columbus saw from the top of the castle of his vessel the dim flicker of a light at a great distance, and its uncertain movements indicated that it might be a torch in the hands of some one walking. As the long hours of the night wore away every eye was strained in the vigilant gaze into the far-away horizon in search of the longed-for land.

The midnight hour passed and it was October 12, 1492,—one of the most prominent dates in the world's history, made so by the work of the men of these three little, lonely vessels so far from the civilized world, with crews so lately despondent, but now so full of expectant gladness. Two hours more passed, when suddenly a shout of wild joy arose from the deck of the *Pinta*. It was followed by the firing of

a gun as the joyful signal of land. There was no mistake this time; the coming dawn revealed, at a distance of six miles, a verdant shore covered with waving trees. The goal had at last been reached, and we can only imagine the joy that filled the hearts of these men after their long and painful voyage that seemed to promise so little. And what must have been the feelings of Columbus at this sacred moment? What a world of emotion must have thrilled his soul when first he realized that the object for which he had spent long years of unceasing toil, and had sacrificed so much, had at last been achieved.

THE NEW WORLD

Columbus fully believed that the discovery he had made was a new and short route to the Indies, and that the land before him was probably one of the Japanese islands lying off the eastern coast of Asia. Had this been the extent of his discoveries, it would indeed have been a great boon to mankind, and his name would no doubt be remembered for all time.

But he had done far more than he knew. He had opened the way to the discovery of a continent, vast in its dimensions, unknown before to civilized man,—a continent containing the greatest rivers of the world, lofty ranges of mountains extending for thousands of miles, and mineral wealth that would require centuries to unfold,—a continent that was to be the seat of mighty empires and the home of millions yet to be born. What would have been the thoughts of Columbus had all this, as the result of his discovery, been presented to his vision?

The land first discovered by Columbus was one of the

Bahama Islands, which he called San Salvador.¹⁹ Soon after daybreak the three vessels cast anchor, and the admiral, richly clad in scarlet and bearing the royal banner of Spain, made for the shore in a small boat. He was accompanied by Pinzon and a few others. The beach was lined with human beings who had come running from the woods on seeing the vessels, which they thought to be gigantic white-winged birds. As the Spaniards approached the shore, the natives fled in terror, and in a few moments all were hidden away in the forest. Columbus on landing was overcome with emotion; he burst into tears; he bowed himself down and kissed the ground; he thanked God for the realization of the dream that he had cherished so long. He then drew his sword and took possession of the new lands in the name of the sovereigns of Spain, and exacted at the same time the most solemn promise of obedience from his followers. Their attitude had greatly changed; their bitterness toward the admiral for having led them so far into the region of the unknown was now replaced by a feeling little short of admiration. They surrounded and embraced him, kissed his hands, and promised the most implicit obedience.

The natives, seeing that they were not pursued, and overcome by curiosity, began again to emerge from their coverts. They approached the Spaniards slowly and timidly, bowing themselves to the ground again and again, and showing every sign of adoration. They were especially attracted by the shining armor, the beards, the clothing, and the light color of their strange visitors, whom they thought to be

¹⁹ It is not positively known which of the Bahamas was the landing place of Columbus. Most writers believe it was Watling Island. See Adams's "Columbus," p. 89.

inhabitants of the skies, and the commanding appearance of Columbus in his brilliant uniform plainly indicated that he was the leader.²⁰

Columbus was greatly interested in the newly found specimens of the human race that stood before him. They were cinnamon-brown in color, darker than the European and lighter than the African, had straight, raven-black hair, high foreheads, expressive eyes, and well-formed bodies. They wore no clothing whatever, and all were males except one, a young female of beautifully formed body. Columbus believed himself to be in the Indies, and he called these people "Indians," a name that spread until it included all the aborigines of the Americas.

Columbus cruised for ten days about this island and its neighbors, and he was puzzled. He was searching for the Indies. He saw waving forests and crystal streams and bright-plumed birds; but where were the towered cities, the mighty rivers? Where were the spices and the ivory and the gold? He found naked savages; where were the kings and the princes in their royal robes? Surely he must find Cathay? He bore a friendly letter from the king and queen of Spain to the Grand Khan. Could he return to Europe without seeing the mighty emperor, or even locating his gorgeous dominions? Alas for the limitations of genius! Looking upon this scene from our standpoint, how pathetic it seems. Columbus was groping among these little islands in search of an empire that was more than ten thousand miles away, and between him and it lay an undiscovered ocean far greater in extent than the one that he had crossed.

When the Spaniards asked the natives where gold could be procured, they always pointed to the south. They also

²⁰ Irving, Vol. I, p. 195.

told of a rich and populous island called Cuba. This must be Cipango, thought Columbus, and thither he steered. They discovered the Cuban coast, but it seemed much like the other lands they had seen. The admiral sent two explorers far into the interior; they found the most luxuriant groves swarming with bright-hued birds and insects; they found fields of maize and cotton, but no rich cities as Marco Polo had described—only rude villages of huts aswarm with naked barbarians, such as they had seen at San Salvador. Again was Columbus baffled, and he sailed away after a cruise of several weeks and discovered the island of Hayti, which he named Hispaniola (Spanish land). The autumn weeks passed. Pinzon with the *Pinta* had separated from the other two caravels, no one knew why. On Christmas Day the *Santa Maria* drifted upon the shoals of an island and was wrecked. Columbus now bethought himself of his condition. The world had not yet heard of his great discoveries. Only the little *Nina* was left him, and a vast ocean rolled between him and civilization. Suppose she, too, were wrecked! He and his friends must then spend their lives among the savages in these far-off islands of the sea, and who would tell the story of their discoveries? Except as a dreamer and a fanatic, who then would remember the name of Columbus? It is true, they had not found Cathay, nor could they bring back spices and precious stones; but they had discovered strange, beautiful lands beyond the dark sea, and a new race of mankind; and the coast of Asia they thought must be near, and if so, the way to the Indies was found at last—was this not success? This story Columbus wished to bear to the sovereigns of Spain and to proclaim it to the waiting world.

Moved by such thoughts Columbus determined to em-

bark for Europe without delay. In a rude building made of the timbers of the *Santa Maria* forty of the men, who wished to remain, made their home, and the rest embarked on January 4, carrying with them ten of the native Indians. In a few days they unexpectedly overtook Pinzon with the *Pinta* cruising about the Cuban coast, and the two launched out together for Europe. After sailing for some time they encountered a storm of the most violent character. The small vessels labored and struggled for life, lost in the hollow of the waves or riding high on their crest, at length drifting apart to meet no more during the voyage. The crew of each believed the other to have perished.

Columbus almost abandoned hope of ever reaching Europe, and he prepared two carefully written accounts of his discoveries; the one he retained in the ship, while the other he sealed in a ball of wax, placed it into an air-tight casket addressed to Ferdinand and Isabella, and threw it overboard, in the hope that, should he and his crew find a grave beneath the billows, some future wanderer of the ocean might pick up the little token, and that it might reveal to the world the strange story of their romantic wanderings, and thus the name of Columbus might not perish nor the benefits of his success be lost to mankind.

But the storm abated and the little craft was still afloat, and, strange to say, a few weeks later, on the same day and but few hours apart, the *Nina* and the *Pinta*, after their long separation, were moored in the haven at Palos, Spain, whence they had weighed anchor more than seven months before.²¹

²¹ It is notable that the voyage westward had been begun on a Friday, had left the Canaries on Friday, that land was first sighted on Friday, that the return voyage was begun and ended on Friday.

LATER CAREER OF COLUMBUS

Seldom in any country has a private citizen received such homage as was accorded Columbus by Spain on the completion of this famous voyage. The people of Palos were wild with joy when they learned that the vessels entering their harbor on that fifteenth of March were the same that had gone on their perilous voyage the year before. The places of business were closed, bells were rung, and the whole people gave themselves up to a long fête of exultation. What a contrast between this reception of the hero and that given him a few years before when, in these same streets, he was jeered by the rabble as an adventurer and a madman—when he was forced to beg a crust of bread for his hungry child at the little convent on the hill!

Columbus soon apprised his sovereigns at Barcelona of his return and his success, and they bade him come at once into their presence. His journey thither was a triumphal march. In front of the procession were six of the ten Indians brought from the New World;²² next were exhibited live parrots, stuffed birds of unknown species, plants and Indian ornaments and trinkets. Columbus rode superbly in the midst surrounded by the choice chivalry of Spain. As the procession entered Barcelona the people abandoned themselves to the most unrestrained enthusiasm. The streets were thronged with a struggling multitude, the windows were filled with wondering eyes, and even the house tops were covered with men eager to get a glimpse of this strange procession. The king and queen sat in state upon the throne, beneath a canopy of gold, erected for the

²² One had died on the voyage and three were ill at Palos. Irving gives a fine description of Columbus's reception by Ferdinand and Isabella.

occasion, and surrounded by the highest nobility of Spain. Here they waited to do honor to this civilian, whose achievements had made for them, as well as for himself, a name that would never be forgotten. If ever there was a moment in the life of Columbus when his joy exceeded that which he felt at his first view of the Bahama Islands, it must have been now. Well could he now forget the seven years of toil and discouragement he had suffered before the voyage began.

As he approached the throne the sovereigns rose and received him as one of their own class. Columbus bore his new honors with befitting modesty. He told his royal hosts the simple story of his discoveries, and as he concluded they both fell on their knees and thanked God for the new lands added to their dominions, and for the opportunity of carrying the Gospel to the heathen that might inhabit them.

The sovereigns now decided to settle the matter between Spain and Portugal concerning the right to the new lands by an appeal to Pope Alexander VI. The Pope thereupon issued his famous bull establishing the "Line of Demarcation."²⁸ All discoveries east of this line, an imaginary one drawn from pole to pole, one hundred leagues west of the Azores and Cape de Verde Islands, changed the following year to three hundred and seventy leagues, were to belong to Portugal and all west of it to Spain. It will be seen that this gives all the New World, except the eastern portion of Brazil, to Spain.

The sovereigns now busied themselves in fitting Columbus out for a second voyage across the Atlantic. No trouble this time to secure a crew. Young men of aristocratic birth hastened to join the expedition; Columbus's brother

²⁸ May 2, 1493.

Bartholomew and Ponce de Leon were among the voyagers. With a fleet of seventeen ships of various sizes the admiral set out from Cadiz on September 25, 1493, and after a prosperous voyage landed on a small mountainous island which he named Dominica. He then hastened to the island of La Navidad, where he had left the colony. Of the forty left on the island every man had perished, and the white bones scattered about told the sad story. The colony—the first colony planted by white men on the soil of the Western World—had been destroyed by the natives, and this marked the beginning of that mortal strife between the white race and the red race, that was to continue for centuries, and to result at last in the complete dominion of the former and the universal conquest of the latter.

After founding a colony in San Domingo, and spending three years in Porto Rico, Jamaica, and other islands, Columbus returned to Spain in 1496, and two years later he made a third voyage, on which he discovered Trinidad and the mainland of South America at the mouth of the Orinoco River, which, still believing himself in Asiatic waters, he took to be one of the great rivers mentioned in the Bible as flowing from the Garden of Eden. The fortunes of the great navigator now took a downward turn. He had tasted of the waters of adversity; he had drunk at the purest fountain of success and popularity, and now in the closing years of his life he must again drink of the bitterest cup of all—that born of jealousy, envy, and malicious hatred. He had powerful enemies at the Spanish court, and they were unwearied in their efforts to poison the minds of the sovereigns against him. His critics had begun their work even before his return from the second voyage. They belittled the value of his discoveries, represented him as a tyrant and an ad-

venturer, and incapable of governing the newly planted colonies, never forgetting to speak of him as a foreigner and not a true Spaniard. At length they were successful, and a pusillanimous soul named Bobadilla was sent to the West Indies with power to supersede Columbus if he found the charges against him to be true. He exceeded his instructions, condemned Columbus without a hearing, and sent him bound in fetters to Spain. On landing Columbus wrote a touching letter to the queen, reciting his wrongs.²⁴ She commanded that he be unbound, and that he come into her presence. In tears he fell prostrate before her and told the story of his hardships. She was deeply moved, and Columbus was reinstated in the royal favor; but he was not restored to governorship of his colony. Columbus now made a fourth and final voyage to the New World and discovered the coast of Honduras. He returned in 1504 and found to his sorrow that his enemies were again in the ascendency. His benefactress, Queen Isabella, was dying. A few weeks later she breathed her last, and the hopes of Columbus were shattered to fragments. King Ferdinand had grown indifferent to the claims of the admiral, and did not even consult him in managing the lands beyond the Atlantic. It must be stated, however, that the admiral had not been successful in governing his colony. Columbus was bowed down with grief and disappointment. Old age was deepening the furrows in his brow, and his long years of toil and hardship had utterly broken his health. He was in want of the necessities of life; but his spirit was unconquerable, and to the very last he kept planning to do even greater things for Spain than he had yet done. No

²⁴ The letter was addressed to a friend who stood near the queen and who made her acquainted with its contents.

palliation can be offered for the sovereign of Spain for allowing this aged navigator, who had done so much for his kingdom, to die in poverty and want. The end came at Valladolid on May 20, 1506, and there his body was buried.²⁵

It is true that Columbus had made a failure in his attempt to govern the colony he had planted in the West Indies, and that the popular clamor against him, both in the colony and in Spain, furnished the sovereigns ample ground for an investigation. It is also true that his ever sanguine spirit, and his belief that he had found Cathay, led him to make promises of gold for the coffers of Spain that could not be fulfilled. These things and the ceaseless clamor of his enemies led the king to turn a deaf ear to his cries.

It is supposed that he died in the firm belief that he had discovered the eastern coast of Asia and had opened a new route to the Indies. The real grandeur of his achievement perhaps never dawned upon his mind. What a joy must have thrilled his soul and soothed his dying hours could he only have known that he had discovered a vast continent rivaling the Old World in extent, and that his name would be forever enshrined in the human heart as one of the rare few whose luster never fades.

As in the early years of the sixteenth century other navigators rapidly rose into prominence, the name of Columbus fell into temporary obscurity, but when in later years it was known that it was not the East Indies, but a great new continent that had been discovered; when it was remembered

²⁵ His remains were afterward removed to Seville, and later to San Domingo, then to Havana and again back to Spain (1898). The removal from San Domingo to Havana was made in 1796. But there is some doubt that the body removed was that of Columbus. See Adams, p. 249.

that the world owed the discovery to this wandering Genoese, his half-forgotten name was revived and he was placed among the immortals.

But Columbus, with all his admirable qualities, was very human, and was not without his faults. That he was deeply religious none can deny, but he did not rise above his day and generation in morals. He was in no sense a reformer. He captured an Indian chief by treachery while pretending to be his friend; he kidnapped many hundred natives and sent them to Spain for the slave market; he advocated the slave trade on a large scale, and inaugurated the treacherous methods of dealing with the Indians that were afterward carried on by Spain for hundreds of years.

But Columbus did a great work for mankind, and the world has rightly chosen to give his name the highest place among the great names of all that age of history. His greatness consisted not in his conception of a new thought, for the thought was old, nor in doing for the world a work that no other could have done, but in his willingness to undertake to demonstrate the truth of his theory. He dared to do where others only talked and theorized. In this he stood far above every other man in his time. "He linked forever the two worlds." It is true he achieved more than he intended; but his intentions were great also, and he deserves the highest credit for carrying his vast plan into execution. The fame of Columbus is secure; though "his discovery was a blunder, his blunder was a new world, and the new world is his monument."²⁶

JOHN CABOT

Continental America was not first discovered by Columbus, but by John Cabot, who like Columbus was an Italian

²⁶ Winsor.

and a native of Genoa. Little is known of the life of Cabot beyond the facts that he was born at Genoa, became a citizen of Venice, and later, about 1490, of Bristol, England; that he was a seaman and merchant, and that, next to the Northmen, he was the first white man known to have made a voyage to North America.

For ages there had been a current belief in England, known to legend and song, that there were lands unknown, somewhere, far away, beyond the stormy western sea.²⁷ And when the news reached England that Columbus, whose brother had sought in vain for aid from the English king, had succeeded in his great voyage, this belief was confirmed, and Henry VII felt that the prize which might have been his had slipped from his grasp. But when John Cabot applied to him for a permit to seek western lands, it was readily granted. The grant bore the date March 5, 1496, and was issued to John Cabot and his three sons,—Lewis, Sebastian, and Sancto; but for some unknown reason the expedition did not sail for over a year afterward. The start is said to have been made on May 2, 1497, in a single vessel, the *Matthew*, the crew consisting of eighteen men.²⁸ They landed, June 24, on the coast of Cape Breton Island, or possibly Newfoundland, or Labrador. They saw no natives, but found their traces, and reported that the natives “used needles for making nets and snares for catching game.”

²⁷ Payne, Vol. I, p. 232.

²⁸ One account gives two ships, another five with three hundred men—both of doubtful authority (see Beazly, p. 55). The safest accounts are a letter written by Soncino, an Italian of London, to his friend, the Duke of Milan; and another by Pasqualigo to his family in Venice—both within a few months after Cabot's return. Payne and some other writers think that Cabot started on his first voyage in 1496 and spent the following winter in Iceland.

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MDCCXLIV.



In August, Cabot was again back in Bristol, and it was reported that he had drifted three hundred leagues along the coasts of the new lands; but this is not believed, as the shortness of the time would not have admitted such an extended tour. "Vast honor" was paid to Cabot on his return, we are informed; "he dresses in silk, and the English run after him like mad people." The king granted him a bonus of ten pounds, and later twenty pounds a year. He made a second voyage in 1498, and followed the coast of North America as far south as Cape Hatteras, and some claim to Florida, returning to England late in the autumn. He believed, like Columbus, that he had reached Cipango and Cathay. Nothing is known of Cabot's career after the second voyage. He is supposed to have died in the year 1500.

For many years it was believed that Sebastian Cabot, and not his father, was the real discoverer of North America; but modern research has dealt a damaging blow to this claim. Sebastian was a navigator of some note; he spent many years in the service of England and of Spain; but there is no proof that he had anything to do with the discovery of America. It is possible, even probable, that he and his brothers accompanied their father on his first voyage, but no contemporary record, aside from the king's grant, makes any mention of them, and in the second grant their names are not mentioned. It is now certain that Sebastian Cabot played false to the memory of his father long after these voyages had been made. He gave out that his father had died before the first voyage, and that he himself had commanded both. This story was believed for centuries, but no critical student of history now accepts it. The Cabot discoveries created a furor in England, but it was short-

lived. The voyagers brought no gold, and interest in the subject soon died away. But many years later, when the world came to know that a new continent had been found, England laid claim to the whole of North America on the ground of the Cabot discoveries.

THE NAMING OF AMERICA

Strange were the fatalities in the career of Christopher Columbus,—doubt concerning so many events of his life, no authentic portrait, the indigence and want of his last years, and, above all, the failure of the New World to be called after his name.

For many years it was not known that Columbus had discovered aught than some unimportant islands of the sea; that a great continent was to be opened to civilization, through his initiative, had not yet dawned upon the world. Meantime others were making voyage after voyage over the western seas and bringing their glowing reports of what they had found. Among these was Amerigo Vespucci, or Americus Vespucius, a native of Florence, a resident of Seville. Not much is known of his life; but it is claimed that he made at least three voyages to the new lands. On one of these, probably in 1501, he is said to have explored far down the coast of Brazil. It now began to dawn upon Europe that a new continent had been discovered, but this was not connected in the public mind with the work of Columbus, who had discovered only islands and possibly a new route to the Indies. When, therefore, Vespucius wrote a brief account of the "New World," as he called it, he created a greater sensation than Columbus had done ten years before. His pamphlet was translated into many languages,

and he was hailed throughout Europe as one of the greatest mariners of his time.

In 1507 Professor Waldseemüller, of the little college of St. Dié among the Vosges Mountains of Lorraine, published a pamphlet on geography, and in this he first suggested the name America. "I see no reason why," he states, "this fourth part of the world should not take its name from its sagacious discoverer and be called Amerige, or America." The suggestion found favor, and it was not long until the name America found its way on all new maps and globes representing the Western Hemisphere.²⁹ At first it was confined to Brazil, but at length it was made to designate all of South America and eventually (about 1541) all the land area of the New World.

There is no evidence that Americus, who was a friend of Columbus, had any intention to defraud the latter of the honor of giving his name to the continent, nor was there any sinister motive on the part of the German professor. The naming of America must be classed as an accident born of ignorance of the facts. The "Indies" discovered by Columbus were renamed West Indies, and the name came to be confined to the islands lying east of Central America.

²⁹ This same year, 1507, Waldseemüller made a map of the New World and used on it the name America. A copy of the original was recently found in an old library at Wurtemberg.

OTHER DISCOVERERS AND DISCOVERIES

The eastern coast of North America was discovered 1000 A.D. by the Northmen led by Leif Ericson (son of Eric the Red, who had planted a colony in Greenland), and a temporary settlement called Vinland made. As the vine does not grow north of 47 degrees, the settlement was probably somewhere on the New England coast, but the exact location cannot be ascertained. Several voyages to Vinland were made, according to the Norse sagas, and the voyagers encountered

Indians whom they called "Skraelings," inferior men. These pre-Columbian discoveries had long been forgotten at the time of Columbus, who probably never heard of them. They added little to geographical knowledge and left no permanent effect on the world.

Balboa.—A Spaniard named Vasco Nunez de Balboa, a bankrupt and leader of rebels, while traversing the Isthmus of Panama, in 1513, was informed by an Indian chief that there was a great sea beyond the mountains, and that the lands bordering on it abounded in gold. Balboa ascended the mountains and, casting his eyes to the southward, beheld a vast glittering sea that seemed boundless in extent. He called it the South Sea. It proved to be the greatest body of water in the world, and came to be called the Pacific Ocean.

Magellan.—In 1519 a bold Portuguese navigator, named Ferdinand Magellan, with five small vessels and about two hundred and fifty men, sailed from Spain westward, and three years later fifteen of them with one ship returned from the East to their starting point. All the rest had perished, and among them the brave commander, Magellan, who was killed by the natives in the Philippine Islands. This was the first voyage around the world.

Other early discoverers of importance were Vasco da Gama, who sailed around Africa in 1597 and reached the East Indies by way of the Indian Ocean, returning a few years later laden with spices and ivory, and thus accomplishing what Columbus and others were attempting to do by crossing the Atlantic; Caspar de Cortereal, who explored the eastern coast of the United States in 1500; and Cabral, who, the same year, in a voyage to India while attempting to follow the course of Vasco da Gama, swung too far westward and touched the coast of Brazil. This was a real, though accidental, discovery of America and might have occurred even if the discoveries of Columbus had never been made. These three navigators, Gama, Cortereal, and Cabral, were all Portuguese.

Under Discoveries may also be mentioned the Conquest of Mexico by Cortez, with a band of about five hundred Spaniards in 1521, and the Conquest of Peru twelve years later by Pizarro.

CHAPTER II

THE INDIAN

IN these modern days when friend can converse with friend across three thousand miles of sea, when the news of the day from the uttermost parts of the earth lies printed before us on the following morning, it seems almost incredible that it is but four centuries since half the land area of the globe was utterly unknown to the inhabitants of the other half.

What a world of wonder was unfolded to the eyes of the European as he explored the great new continent, with its broad silent rivers, its illimitable plains, its boundless forests! Here he found the most wonderful cataracts of the earth, the longest rivers, the broadest valleys, the greatest lakes; he found a vast mountain system, extending from the Arctic regions through the torrid zone into the frigid climes of the South—almost from pole to pole; he found strange new birds and animals and plants; but amid all the wonders of this enchanting land the most wonderful thing he found was the new race of his own human kind. Yes, here was man, the most interesting of all studies—more interesting even to the botanist than are the trees and the flowers, more interesting to the astronomer than the stars, or to the geologist than the minerals and the fossils. Here was a new race unlike all known races of men. Physically the Indian was equal to any other race; mentally he was weak and he

was strong. He was a child, he was an animal, and yet he was a man. He lived amid the vast solitudes of the wilderness and seemed but a part of nature, yet his breast was filled with human passions; he had his loves and his hatreds, his religion and his hopes. Not having advanced in civilization to the point of using letters, he had not recorded his own history. Where the Indian originally came from, how he came to inhabit America, and how many ages he had dwelled here before the coming of the white man, will probably never be known. Many are the theories concerning the origin of the red man, but all are mere conjectures.

The Indian has been classed as a distinct and separate race of mankind, and indeed he differs as greatly from the Caucasian, the Mongolian,²⁰ or the Ethiopian as they differ from one another. In fact the various Indian nations differ so greatly as to call forth the opinion that they could not all belong to the same race or stock; but while the Algonquin and the Iroquois differed greatly from each other and still more from the Aztec and the Inca, the difference was no greater than that between the Englishman and the Russian, the Spaniard and the German. Moreover, all the aboriginals of the New World were characterized by certain peculiarities which marked them conclusively as belonging to the same race. In color the typical Indian was cinnamon-brown, varying in shade; he had high cheek bones, small, dark set eyes, straight, raven-black hair, and a scanty beard. "The race is physically more homogeneous than any other on the globe."²¹

²⁰ Physically the Indian resembles the Mongolian.

²¹ Brinton's "Myths of the New World," p. 52.

INDIAN RELIGION

The American Indians were all religious. The belief in a Great Spirit who governed the world, who taught the water to flow and the bird to build her nest, who caused the changing of the seasons and the succession of day and night, who gave the sunshine to his children and brought the thunders and the rain—this belief was universal with the aboriginals of America.²² The Indian believed in a future life, a happy hunting ground, where he would be accompanied by his dog, would need his bow and arrow and hatchet, and where his occupation would be similar to that of this life, except that all care and sorrow, and toil that wearies, would be removed. The religion of the red man was an ever present consciousness; he prayed when he sat down to meat and when he arose; he prayed when he went on the chase and when waging war upon his fellow-man. His religion, however, was grossly corrupted with superstition. He believed that spirits dwelled in animals, in trees, and in everything about him. His imagination peopled the air and the water and the forests with living, invisible creatures, and often filled him with superstitious dread. Many of these spirits are evil, and the Indian felt that he must protect himself against them²³ by carrying some charm, by repeating certain secret words, and he often propitiated them, as he believed, by offerings and by prayer. He believed in signs and omens and dreams. The rustle of a leaf, the whistle of a bird, or the rolling of the thunder—all had their meaning to the untutored red man. His dreams

²² Some writers claim that the monotheistic idea was unknown among most Indian tribes until the coming of the Europeans. See Brinton, p. 69.

²³ Starr's "American Indian," p. 80.

were revelations from heaven, and he would sacrifice anything to carry out their suggestions.

He worshiped the Great Spirit; he worshiped the sun and the stars, the rivers and the mountains, but rarely did he bow down to that which he had made with his own hands. He offered to his God the firstlings of his flock, the best of his possessions; but only here and there, as among the Aztecs of Mexico, did he engage in the revolting practice of offering human sacrifice.

In one respect the religion of the Indian differed from that of almost all other peoples. He did not look upon himself as a sinner in the sight of the Great Being. His tribe may have offended as a whole, but he did not feel a personal responsibility, nor did he believe that his future happiness depended in any way upon his actions in this life. His religion led him to torture himself at times in the most shocking manner; he did this, not as an atonement for sin, but to enlist the sympathy and aid of his God in some special enterprise. He never failed to pray for success in any special undertaking, even though his sole object was to steal horses and other property from his enemy. He believed in a life of happiness hereafter for all men (except perhaps his most hated enemy), regardless of their manner of living in this life. As a rule the Indian had little to regret. He followed the dictates of his conscience with the utmost exactness; and while his conscience, which was based on tribal custom and not upon religion, bade him to be honest and kind in his dealings with his own people, it permitted him to steal from his enemy, to destroy his property, and to torture him to death.

HOME LIFE

The home life of the American Indian before it was dis-

turbed by the coming of the white man was of the most simple and primitive character. It was scarcely above that of the animals that inhabited the forest with himself. He lived in a den of filth—a little hut or a movable tent,⁸⁴ and with this he was content. Here he often slept or smoked during the day, and at evening he sat with his family or his friends and told over the legends and myths of his tribe that had been handed down from generation to generation, or dilated upon his own deeds of valor in the chase or on the battlefield. His legends were inexhaustible and included such sublime themes as that of the Creation, when the ocean was boundless, and silence and night were universal, until Hurakan, the mighty wind, or the gigantic bird with its eyes of lightning and the sound of its wings as the roar of thunder, passed over the vast, dark water and produced light and earth and animals and men;⁸⁵ or that of the Heroes of the Dawn, fair of complexion and mighty in war, who had founded their nation countless ages ago and had departed to the East, whence they would come again and claim their power as of old;⁸⁶ or that of the implacable strife between the twin brothers, Light and Darkness, who at length compromising, agreed that each reign half the time, and thus we have day and night. From these sublime legends the narrator would descend to the relating of weird and revolting witch and ghost stories unworthy of the

⁸⁴ To this rule there were many exceptions, such as the Aztecs, the Incas, the Pueblos, and the Iroquois, who had houses of a more substantial character and who were far less nomadic in their habits than many of the tribes.

⁸⁵ This was a legend of the northwestern tribes.

⁸⁶ This was a legend of Mexico and South America, and is considered a remarkable prophecy of the coming of the white man "who wrote the doom of the red man in letters of fire." See Brinton, p. 220.

wizard or the crone. Sometimes, however, he would sit for hours in absolute silence and gaze on the ground, not giving the slightest attention to the gambols of his children about him or to his squaw by his side busy with her bead work or in the dressing of skins.

There is in the Indian countenance a certain serious, almost sad, expression which is readily noticed by strangers. This may result from the fact that he is never free from superstitious fear. He lives in constant dread, not of the armed foe or the wild beasts, but of the myriads of invisible spirits that inhabit everything in nature about him.* Against these mysterious powers, which he fancies to be ever present, he has no power to contend, and his unceasing fear of them for ages has probably set its stamp indelibly upon his face.

Usually, however, the Indian at home seems, in a great measure, happy. No greater proof of this is needed than the fact that he sings. His musical instruments are few and crude indeed; but he sings in his tent and he sings at play. His games are numerous and he engages in them with his whole heart. The old and the young, the male and the female, engage in many of the plays. But with all this, there seems to be something wanting to true happiness; there is a vein of sadness that pervades all Indian life. In many of his plays there is a self-inflicted pain; many of his songs are in a minor key. This results, perhaps, as stated before, from his perennial fear that is born of superstition.

The Indian is not cruel by nature, as is commonly supposed. It is true that the main business of his life, the slaying of his fellow-man in war and of the wild animal in the chase, and the want of refining influences at home,

* Grinnell's "Story of the Indian," p. 164.

have left their mark upon his nature and rendered him indifferent to suffering. It is true that he is cruel in times of war; but when his anger is not aroused, when unsuspecting of danger or treachery, there is none among the children of men more kind-hearted or more steadfast as a friend than the wild Indian. He will share his last morsel with the stranger within his gates, and he has often been known to offer his life for the protection of a friend.

Another popular error is the belief that the Indian squaw is a slave to her husband.²⁸ It is true that the squaw does the necessary work in the home: she prepares the meals, dresses the skins, raises the corn, and gathers the wild rice and the berries; but her husband engages in the more arduous duties of following the war trail and slaying the wild beast. His toil is less constant, but far more perilous and fatiguing than hers. They simply divide the labor and both are content. The fact that the woman carries the tent when moving has shocked many a traveler; but this custom doubtless arose from the fact that it was necessary for the man to be untrammelled so as to be on the lookout for danger. One reason why the woman and not the man cultivates the fields will be shown by the following: A white man asked the men of a tribe why they did not help the women in the labors of the field, and they replied, "Because women know how to bring forth and can tell it to the grain; but we do not know how they do it, and we cannot teach the grains."²⁹

Family quarrels are almost unknown among the Indians; the man does not abuse his wife; she manages her

²⁸ McMaster and other historians give this erroneous view.

²⁹ The wife of a Sioux, after planting her corn patch, will rise at night and walk around it in an entirely nude condition, so as to impart to the grain the magic of her own fecundity. Brinton, p. 174.

house as seems best in her own eyes, and if she has nothing to set before him when hungry, he does not chide her for being improvident or for not raising more corn or gathering more rice and berries; he bears it in silence and without murmuring. In many tribes the woman has ⁴⁰ great influence and has much to do in deciding important questions. The descent among Indians was usually reckoned in the female line, and among the Iroquois the women owned the land and had greater influence than the men. Female Indian chiefs were by no means uncommon among the tribes of North America.

INDIAN OCCUPATIONS

North America, when first explored by the white man, was found to be inhabited over its entire surface by Indian tribes. They were scattered thinly and there were not more perhaps than half a million in the aggregate. It requires a vastly greater land area to support a people who live off the natural products of the country than to support an equal number who live by tilling the soil and raising domestic animals. The Indian lived chiefly from natural products unaided by the hand of art. His serious occupation was twofold,—the business of war and one long life struggle for food. Some tribes, especially those of the Southwest, received a partial supply of food from tilling the soil in the most primitive manner, raising maize and a few other products; but the great source of the food supply of the Indian was the flesh of wild animals taken in the forest in which he dwelt; and to capture these animals with

⁴⁰ Sometimes in this chapter I have used the present tense, but in the main my description of the Indians refers to them in their primitive state as found three hundred years ago.

his imperfect means required the utmost skill, and this he acquired in a remarkable degree.

The Indian, spending his life in the depths of the forest, was truly a child of nature, and nature was his study. He observed her changing forms with the utmost acuteness, and while he often misinterpreted their meaning, the facts were truly his. The rolling of the billowy clouds, the ever changing color of the sky, the opening buds and the fading leaves, the majestic, silent river, the howling of the winter's storm—these and a thousand other things were observed by this inhabitant of the woods; they spoke to him a definite language, and he did not fail to comprehend. But the most important acquisition of the Indian brain was his knowledge of animals, especially of those on which he depended for his daily food. His knowledge of the haunts and habits of animals was astonishing; and not less so his skill and ability in capturing them. He could imitate the gobble of the wild turkey, the whistle of the bird, or the bark of the wolf,⁴¹ and deceive those creatures in their own abodes. He was almost as fleet of foot as the deer or the hare; he could follow a trail with the keenness of a bloodhound. As he crept through the forest in search of game, no item of interest escaped his notice; his ear caught every sound; he seemed to see in all directions at the same moment, and seldom could the keenest-scented animal escape his cunning and his craftiness.⁴²

⁴¹ McMaster's "History of the People of the United States," Vol. I, p. 6.

⁴² But no Indian could surpass our pioneer hunters in woodcraft. Such hunters as Daniel Boone and Simon Kenton, without the training of previous generations, were more than a match for the keenest of the red men. The cause of this lies in the fact that the white race is endowed with a greater degree of mentality than any other race of men.

Let us now take a rapid glance at the Indian as a warrior. It was in this capacity that we knew him first. We have heard from childhood how our grandfathers hewed their way into the deep wilderness where their conquest of the forest and the soil and the wild beast was an easy task compared with that of the savage man with whom they had to contend. We have read of the Indian wars of colonial days—of the horrible massacres, the inhuman tortures; of the bands of hideous warriors who roamed over hills and valleys, seeking out the peaceful abode of the industrious pioneer, who, with his devoted wife and loving children, had sought to make a home in the wilderness—of these painted fiends dashing with dreadful yells upon the harmless family; braining the astonished husband and father with the tomahawk before the eyes of the wife and children; stopping the shrieks of the fond wife only by striking her down also, to die quivering in her husband's blood; seizing the terrified children and carrying them away into hopeless and life-long captivity! We have all heard the baleful story, and it is not fiction; it is truth, and was enacted hundreds of times.⁴⁸

Incredible as it seems, this monster is the same Indian that we have seen sitting among his children in his wigwam, telling over the stories of his grandfather's days, smoking serenely, accepting his meal, however scanty, without mur-

⁴⁸ In referring to this practice of the Indians, as a necessary part of history, it is but fair to add that they committed such deeds only when on the war path, and also that the white men at times were not a whit less cruel than the untutored red men. No massacre by the Indians ever surpassed in fiendish cruelty the Gnadenhutten massacre in the Tuscarawas Valley, Ohio, in March, 1782, when ninety-six peaceful, friendly Indians, who had been converted to Christianity, were murdered in cold blood by a band of white men who called themselves the Pennsylvania militia.

mur—the Indian who never scolds his wife nor strikes his child, who is kind-hearted, who prays without ceasing, and who never doubts that he will enter the happy hunting ground. Such a contradiction of character in the same being may seem difficult to explain.

Judged from such deeds alone as the above mentioned, the Indian must be pronounced the most cruel and hellish of all men born. But let us examine the premises before drawing our conclusions. The Indian was essentially a warrior. His noblest art was the art of war. He inherited his warlike spirit from his fathers. He imbibed it from his mother's breast. It was fostered in his childish plays. It was part of his religion. But how about murdering innocent women and children? This was part of legitimate warfare with the Indian. He practiced it on his own race as readily as on the whites. And even in this there was method in his madness. He killed women and children because they would become warriors or would bring forth warriors. His wars were wars of extermination, his motto was slay and spare not, and he never seemed to think he was doing wrong. In time of peace he was passive, and even gentle in his own rude way; but when his war spirit was roused, when the peace pipe was broken, the wild beast in his nature took possession of him, and his fury knew no bounds. He became,—

“in sober truth, the veriest devil
That e'er clinched fingers in a captive's hair.”

During the period of our early settlements there were many fierce conflicts between the whites and Indians, and many were the deeds of cruelty recorded against the latter. But it is certain that they seldom or never practiced

their cruelties without some specious ground for so doing, and in truth they were scarcely more to blame than their white neighbors. Sometimes the French and sometimes the English inflamed them against the Americans; and again, there were dishonest American traders who roused their anger by cheating them. Finally there was one abiding cause of strife between the two races. The Indian saw that his lands were gradually being taken from him and that his race was being driven farther and farther toward the West; and at times whole tribes and nations rose against the intruders and determined to repossess the hunting grounds they had lost. Hence there was unceasing warfare along the frontier, and the Indian could not discriminate between the innocent and the guilty. He was still a barbarian.

The Indian often tortured his captive. He would flay him alive, cut out his tongue, or burn him to death over a slow fire. And he would gloat with the joy of a fiend over the dying agonies of his foe. For this no excuse or palliation can be offered. Yet it only proved the Indian to be a man, as distinguished from the beast—a crude, undeveloped, uncivilized, barbarous man. No further evidence is needed to prove that man and the brute are not akin, and that in the heart of the natural man there is a spirit of evil, as well as a spark of the divine.

The Indian warrior surpassed all other men in his power of endurance and his capacity for suffering. He could travel on foot for hundreds of miles without food. If captured by his enemy, he would suffer himself to be tortured to death by fire, or his body to be torn to pieces by bits without exhibiting a feeling of pain, or permitting a cry to escape his lips. He chanted his death song with his latest breath.



1451 — AMERIGO VESPUCCI — 1512.

From the portrait in the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Mass.



No special rules of warfare were followed by the Indians. No one was compelled to go to war; but to refuse to do so made one very unpopular, if he was young and able. The chief held his authority, not by law, but principally through his powers of leadership. If he was a natural commander, if he had taken many scalps, if he had encountered great dangers and displayed great heroism, the young men were quite ready to follow and obey him. Even in battle the Indians had no particular rules or order to guide them. Each brave did what seemed best in his own eyes. An Indian battle was not the carefully planned meeting of two armies, drawn up with scientific precision, as we find among civilized peoples. It was rather a series of skirmishes, of personal hand-to-hand encounters, of ambushes, without plan and without order. The Indian was full of courage, but he was wily and treacherous. He would not fight an enemy fairly, if he could surprise and assassinate him. He would lurk in a ravine, or dark shadow, or behind a tree until his enemy came near, when he would spring upon him with the ferocity of a tiger, uttering, at the same instant, a yell so piercing, so heart-rending, that no one who ever heard it could forget it to the end of his life."

CIVILIZATION

The most hopeless feature in connection with the Indian problem is that the race seems incapable of civilization. No barbarous people waits and longs to be civilized. Civilization comes as a gradual indigenous growth covering centuries, or is carried to them by more enlightened peoples. If the latter, they are almost sure to resist it at first as a wild horse resists capture, but eventually seeing that what

" McMaster, Vol. I, p. 7.

is offered them is better than what they have, they come to desire further enlightenment, and when a people reaches this stage, its future is secure. Even the Ethiopian, while he has shown little or no capacity for civilizing himself, is capable of being improved by contact with more enlightened races. The negro race in our country to-day has progressed less rapidly in its third of a century of freedom than was hoped, but it has, nevertheless, done something: it has shown a capacity to improve, and has produced many intelligent, aspiring men. But far less is this true of the American Indians. When first discovered by the Europeans, they ranged from the savage, man-eating tribes of Yucatan and British Columbia to the half-civilized nations of Mexico and Peru. Since then little change has been wrought in Indian culture. Their learning the use of firearms and of the horse has greatly changed their mode of life, but has not brought them civilization. Their centuries of contact with the most enlightened race of the earth have profited them little—not because they have lacked opportunity, not because they were crowded from their original homes, not even because of a want of native intelligence, but because they have chosen to fight against the arts of civilized life and to resist it to the death. Ages of contact with civilization have produced in the Indian little aspiration to improve his own condition, to make his race a world force, or to elevate it above the state of barbarism. The Indian languages are laden with poetic beauty; but no Indian has produced a poem that will live, no Indian has written a history, no tribe has reared a monument. For four centuries the race has been associated with the most progressive of all races; but has any Indian invented a machine, or founded a school, or established a printing-press? His association with the white

man has, in the main, proved a curse to him rather than a blessing, for he has absorbed the vices without the virtues of an enlightened people. Some Indians, it is true, have been Christianized, but the great majority have persistently resisted every attempt to advance them. Their contact with the whites has largely broken up their tribal relations, and freed them from the rigid morality born of tribal custom, and their present state is worse than the first. Even the greatest Indians ever known to the white race, such as Pontiac and Tecumseh, whose courage and endowments the world must admire, became great and famous, not by attempting to elevate their race, not by fostering civilization, but by fighting against it.

The Indian is essentially a child of nature. Take him to the centers of industry and civilization, and he pines for his forest home; dress him in the garb of a gentleman, and place him in the home of luxury, and he longs for his dirty wigwam, his breech clout, and his bead-covered moccasins.⁴⁸ He loves, above all things, the wild freedom of the wilderness, the flowing river, the waving forest, the crags and peaks of the mountains. The conventionalities of civilized life, the hum of industry in the great city, have no charms for him. It is the howl of the wolf, the scream of the wild bird, the sighing of the wind among the trees—these furnish the music that touches the soul of the Indian. He aspires to no improvements beyond that which his tribe enjoyed when he was born. What was good enough for his fathers is good enough for him. He is not educated, and he does not wish to be. He does not desire to know any-

⁴⁸To this rule there are many exceptions. Since writing the above I have met many Indians, taken from their tribes in childhood and educated in the government schools, to whom this statement will not apply.

thing of the great world beyond his own home in the wilderness. He does not know his own age. He notes the changes of the seasons and counts time by the moon; but how many moons since he was born, or since his children were born, he does not know, and he does not care.

Such is the American Indian of to-day; such he was three hundred years ago. What will his future be? Some claim that the Indians of North America are not diminishing in numbers, that there are as many to-day as when Jamestown was settled. Others claim that their numbers are constantly decreasing. The latter are probably correct. It is certain that whole tribes have disappeared; others have greatly diminished; still others have been absorbed into neighboring tribes and have lost their identity.⁴⁶

As to the future of the Indian, one thing is as sure as the coming of the morning,—if he continues to reject the arts of civilized life, he must perish as a race. The white man has come with his civilization—his schools, his churches, and his newspapers, his railways and telegraph—and above all his ambition to increase more and more. If the red man cannot or will not meet him on the same ground, he must die. I am not defending the national morality of driving a people from the land they had possessed for ages; I am simply stating the great truth that ignorance and barbarism must fall before the irresistible march of modern civilization. If the red race will not rise to the situation, if it will

⁴⁶ The whole number of Indians in the United States, according to the census of 1900, was 266,760. Of this number 137,242 are said to be "civilized," that is, they are "taxed" Indians, who do not live in tribal relations on reservations. The decrease in Indian population during the preceding ten years was 6,847, and the decrease since 1850 is nearly 200,000, part of which may be accounted for by migrations to British America and Mexico.

not make itself a force in our government, if it refuses to join the great procession of modern thought, there is nothing before it but a grave; and the future historian must record the story of a people that have been, a people that refused the sustenance necessary to life, a people that died by their own hand.

NATIONS AND TRIBES

The Indians of North America were divided into several great families, distinguished by language, habits, and personal appearance, and each family was composed of many different tribes.

One of the most prominent families was the **Iroquois**, living for the most part in New York. Some of the tribes, however, extended into Canada, the Ohio Valley, and the South. They built connected log houses, fortified their villages, and cultivated the soil. They were noted for physical strength, courage, and their warlike propensities. Five tribes of the Iroquois, the Cayugas, Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, and Senecas, were banded together in a confederation known as the Five Nations, and after being joined by the Tuscaroras in 1714, called the Six Nations. In addition to these the Eries, Hurons, Cherokees, and a few other tribes belonged to the Iroquois. The Cherokees formerly occupied the Ohio Valley, and they with the Pawnees are supposed to have built the curious mounds to be found in that locality. The former belief that there was a civilized people known as the Mound Builders who preceded the Indians is no longer held by thoughtful students of the subject.

By far the greatest Indian family in North America, measured by the extent of territory occupied, was the **Algonquin** family. They surrounded the Iroquois on all sides, extending from Labrador westward through British America to the base of the Rocky Mountains and southward to South Carolina. They also extended westward through the Mississippi Valley to the Rocky Mountains. The most important tribes of the Algonquins were the Massachuset, Mohegan, Lenni Lenape (who made the famous treaty with William Penn), Miami, Illinois, Sac and Fox, Ojibwa, Blackfoot, Shawnee, and other tribes. Most of the famous Indians of our history, as King Philip, Pocahontas, Pontiac, and Tecumseh, were Algonquins. This nation compared favorably with the Iroquois in every way. Both had advanced above the state of barbarism and showed an interesting incipient civilization. Their highest accom-

plishments were the raising of corn and the making of pottery. There are at present near 100,000 Algonquins and about 40,000 Iroquois living on various reservations. Many of them are self-supporting, living mostly by agriculture; but in general civilization they have not advanced greatly beyond the state in which they were first discovered.

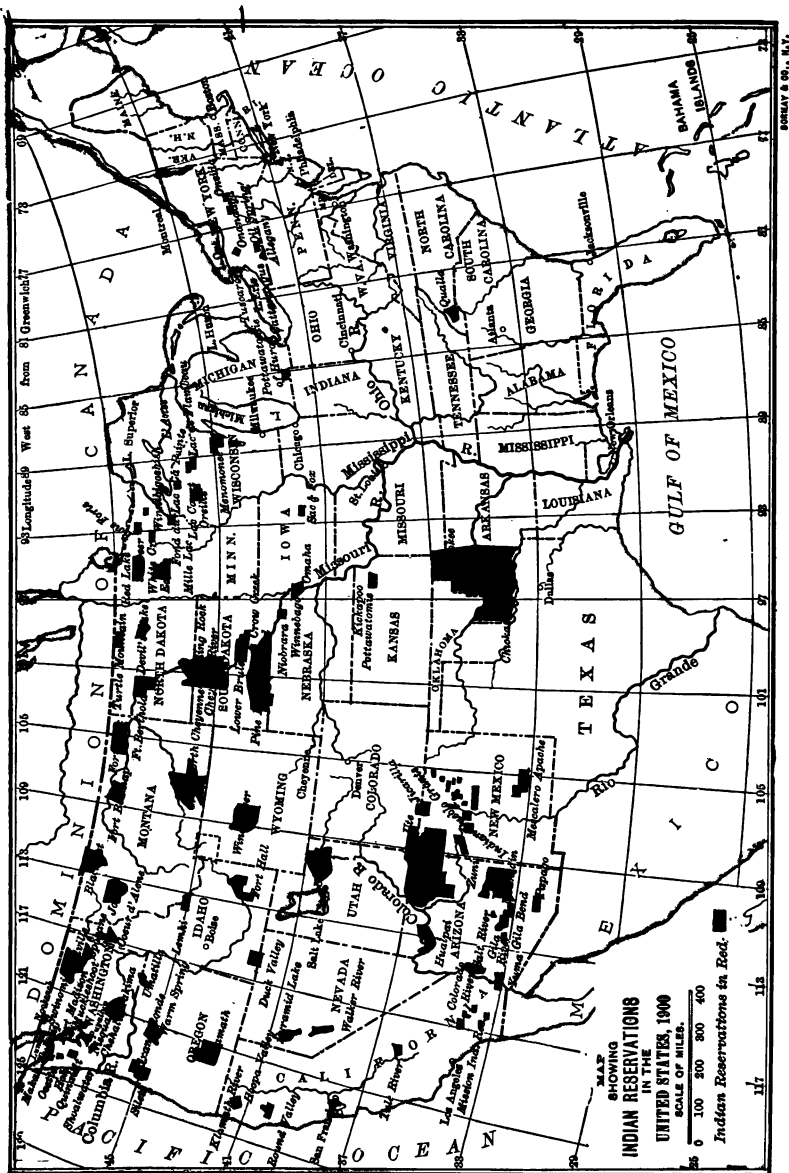
The **Athabascans** were another great family, which extended from the Arctic regions to Mexico, mostly west of the Rocky Mountains. They were divided into many tribes, including the warlike Apaches, the Atna and Kuchin of Alaska, the Navajos of Arizona and New Mexico, the Beavers and Slaves of British America.

The **Dakota** or **Sioux** family occupied that portion of the United States west of the Great Lakes about the head waters of the Mississippi, the Yellowstone Valley, and the adjacent portions of British America. Among them we find the Crows, Assiniboines, Iowas, Mandans, Omahas, Osages, and Winnebagoes. About forty-five thousand of them still exist.

The **Muskogi** family were among the most cultured and industrious of Indians. They built good houses and cultivated the soil. The leading tribes were the Creeks, Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Seminoles, occupying for the most part the southern portions of the United States.

The **Shoshone** family included the semi-civilized Aztecs of Mexico, the Comanches, the Snakes, the Utes, the Mokis, and many other tribes.

Since writing this chapter on the Indian I have made the acquaintance of General R. H. Pratt, the founder and superintendent of the Indian school at Carlisle, Pa. General Pratt has spent many years in dealing with the Indians. He is a man of infinite sympathy with the great work in which he is engaged, and his knowledge of Indian life and character, equal no doubt to that of any other man in the country, entitles his opinions to the respect of all students of this question. General Pratt does not agree with the majority of the historians in their statements that the Indians cannot be civilized, and I hereby cheerfully make a record of his views. He believes that the Indians do not differ essentially from other races in their capacity for civilization, and that only the right conditions have been wanting. He contends that it is a mistake for the government to keep many Indians on reservations, apart from the great currents of business, and to foster them in idleness by furnishing them supplies. He is convinced that if the Indians were scattered among the whites they would soon become self-supporting and show the same capacity to improve that is found in other races. It is a well-known fact that the most degraded Indians in the country are those who still maintain their tribal relations, live on the reservations, and are fostered by the government.





CHAPTER III

EXPLORATIONS

SCARCELY had Europe caught its breath after its astonishment at the unexpected discovery of a great continent beyond the western ocean when the period of exploration began. Some of the explorers were sent forth by their respective governments; others went at their own expense. Many of the expeditions were of the most daring and adventurous character, and the chief motive forces were a thirst for gold and the spirit of adventure, to which were usually added some pretense of preparing for future colonization and a desire to convert the natives to Christianity.

Spain had taken the lead in discovery; she also took the lead in exploration. Before the middle of the sixteenth century Spanish explorers had overrun a territory in the New World greater by far than the whole of Europe. Having covered Central America and a large portion of South America, they turned their attention to the north.

Of the early Spanish expeditions on the soil of the United States the one offering the greatest attractions to the lover of the adventurous was probably that led through the south-east and the Mississippi Valley by Ferdinand, or Hernando, de Soto, who was himself the most chivalrous and picturesque of all the early explorers of our country. To this expedition and its ambitious leader the main portion of this chapter will be devoted.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ To give a full account of all these exploring parties and what they did would tend to swell this volume to the point beyond its intended

DE SOTO

The pages of fiction can scarcely parallel the strange romance of the career of Ferdinand de Soto. He was born in the year 1500, in the quaint and quiet Spanish town of Xeres—a town of ruined castles and gloomy monasteries. He was a boy of remarkable beauty and gave early promise of unusual talent. His father was an impoverished nobleman, and being too poor to educate him and too proud to teach him the art of earning a livelihood, his boyhood would have been spent in idleness had not a powerful nobleman, Don Pedro Avila, adopted him into his family. Avila gave him a thorough education, including all the chivalric accomplishments of the Middle Ages.

On reaching manhood De Soto, like many other Spanish youths of the time, made his way to the New World. As a Spanish cavalier he spent many years in Darien, and many were his deeds of wild and daring adventure. It was said that he was the handsomest and most chivalric man in the army and that he surpassed all his fellows as a horseman and swordsman.

In 1531 De Soto joined Pizarro, as second in command, in the infamous conquest of Peru. He was far more humane than his cruel and heartless chief. He denounced Pizarro

limits, while a brief summary of each would fail to reproduce in any degree the spirit of those times, and would furnish little to attract the reader. I have chosen therefore to present all except one in simple outline, while to that one a larger treatment will be given.

Though it may seem out of harmony with the remainder of this history, the method I have employed in treating this subject and, to some extent, the subject of Discovery, was adopted because I have heard various persons say that in attempting to read American history they become utterly tired of the subject by the time they have read the dry details of the discoveries and explorations.

with the greatest severity for putting the harmless Inca to death; but the fact that he was a member of that gang of robbers and shared in its spoils must remain forever a blot upon his name. His share of the Peruvian gold was equal in value to half a million dollars. He now resolved to return to Spain, which he had not seen for fifteen years. On reaching his native land he was hailed as the conqueror of Peru and soon he became the most popular and powerful nobleman in Spain. Before embarking for America he had been betrothed, it is said, to Isabella, the daughter of his benefactor, Avila, the playmate of his childhood, who had been pronounced the most beautiful woman in the kingdom. All these years she had waited for De Soto. They were married soon after his landing, and for the second time within half a century "Ferdinand and Isabella" became the most conspicuous and popular pair in Spain.

De Soto was unused to wealth, and he spent his money with a lavish hand. He lived in a mansion and kept trains of servants. In two years half his fortune had melted away. He then bethought himself how he might replenish his coffers, and his mind turned again to America. He knew about Florida and believed it to be a land, not only of flowers, but of gold, and his request to make a conquest of that country at his own expense was readily granted by Charles V. With some six hundred men he and his charming wife embarked for Cuba in April, 1538. He had been made governor of that island by the emperor. His followers included the flower of the nobility, young men of wealth and station, and a number of veteran soldiers who had served under him in Peru. Gayly over the sea the little fleet swept, the men as light-hearted as if on a holiday excursion and as confident as if the gold they sought were already in view.

Reaching Cuba, they disembarked and more than half a year was spent in festivities and preparation for the invasion.

FLORIDA

Florida was the name given to the vast unexplored region of the southeastern part of the United States, a region since divided into half a dozen flourishing states. It had been so named by Ponce de Leon, who, a quarter of a century before the coming of De Soto, had wandered through the wilderness in a pathetic and fruitless search for that magical fountain which, as the natives informed him, would bring youth to the aged and life to the dying. Fifteen years later Narvaez, with a band of three hundred freebooters, had landed on the coast of Florida, made an incursion into the interior, and treated the Indians with such inhuman cruelty that the latter rose in their fury and destroyed the invaders of their soil—and but few were left to tell the story. It was this land that De Soto would now invade and become master of. His chief aim was not to slay and conquer the simple natives, not to make some great discovery that would benefit his race and perpetuate his name, but rather to gain wealth and the power that wealth can purchase.

In the early spring of 1539 De Soto left Cuba with his brilliant army,⁴⁸ an army that, for equipment and richness of uniform, could not have been surpassed by Spain in the palmiest days of her chivalry. The faithful Isabella would gladly have accompanied her husband, but he anticipated hardships as well as success, and he left her behind. Fondly she waved her last farewell to her gallant lord as the vessels moved out from the harbor; fondly she hoped for his early return loaded with riches and honor.

⁴⁸ 570 men and 223 horses. Winsor, Vol. II, p. 245.

The hearts beat high with De Soto's crew as they launched out from the Cuban coast. None seemed to doubt that wealth and honor awaited them. As the pale blue line in the far-off horizon informed them that they were nearing the flowery land, their joy broke forth into songs and exclamations of delight. There at last was their El Dorado. There was the land of the cedar and vine, the land that was abloom with perpetual spring—and it must also be the land of gold. It must be another Mexico, another Peru; and the name of their commander would henceforth rival those of Cortez and Pizarro. Thus thought the followers of De Soto, and they rejoiced, they "filled high the cup with Samian wine"; they saw themselves in imagination returning to Spain covered with glory and laden with gold.

But with their music was mingled a minor strain when they remembered that De Leon and Narvaez had found no gold; they had found only disaster and death. Again was their dream disturbed when before the dawn of the first morning after they landed at Tampa Bay they were rudely awakened by the savage yells and a shower of arrows from a horde of naked warriors. The Spaniards leaped up in terror and ran for their lives to their ships. This was the beginning of the three and a half years of unceasing strife and turmoil and battle which was to end in the destruction of the greater portion of the Spanish army.

De Soto was not at heart a cruel man. He had no desire to wantonly slay the natives;⁴⁹ he fully intended, however, to give battle whenever the Indians opposed his march. After this first attack he drew up his army in battle array and marched inland; but the inhabitants had all fled into

* One contemporary writer, however, Oviedo, states that De Soto was fond of the sport of killing Indians.

the forest and their village was deserted. A few, however, were made captive, and De Soto loaded them with presents and sent them to their chief, begging that he return and make friends with the Spaniards. The chief sent back a defiant answer expressing his hatred of the invaders and his intention to fight them as long as they remained in his territory. The various Indian tribes were usually friendly to the first white visitors, and the Spanish commander was at a loss to account for such hostility; but he soon discovered the cause of it. This tribe had a few years before come into contact with De Narvaez, and this same chief had been mutilated by that heartless Spaniard by having his nose cut off while his mother had been put to death, being torn to pieces before the eyes of her son by bloodhounds.⁶⁰ No wonder that a mortal hatred against the Spaniards now rankled in his savage breast. In fact, the one great obstacle that De Soto had to encounter in his long journey through the wilderness was the hostility of the Indians caused by the memory of Narvaez. Wherever that adventurer had gone he had left a trail of infamy and a deadly hatred of the white man among the natives. De Soto did all in his power to counteract this feeling, but only partially succeeded. There is little doubt that the loss of half his army was due to this cause.

The Spanish commander now made a most fortunate acquisition to his army in the person of Juan Ortiz, a fellow-countryman who had lived with the Indians for ten years. He had come from Cuba with a party searching for Narvaez, and with three companions had been made captive. The

⁶⁰ The Spanish explorers usually carried bloodhounds with them, and when they wished to inflict a cruel death and strike terror to the natives they would throw their victims to these animals.

other three were tortured to death, but Ortiz, a handsome and athletic youth of eighteen years, was saved by an emotional Pocahontas, the daughter of the chief, who begged her father to spare him. He was now familiar with the Indian language and habits, and he became De Soto's guide and interpreter. The Spaniards eagerly inquired of Ortiz where gold might be found, but he could give them no definite information. He only knew that something over a hundred miles to the northeast there lived a great chief to whom all the surrounding chiefs paid tribute.

WANDERING IN THE WILDERNESS

To find this forest king De Soto immediately set out, and thus began his great three years' march through the wilderness which was to end only with his life. For more than a hundred miles the army, cavalry and infantry, tramped through the magnificent forests of oak and pine, alternating with long stretches of treeless prairie adorned with bright flowers and waving grass. But more than once their steps were arrested with vast, dismal swamps and impenetrable bogs. Reaching the city of the great chief, they found that his majesty with his subjects had fled and had taken refuge in the swamps and forests. De Soto sent Indian runners to offer the chief his friendship, but the wily red man feared another Narvaez and no efforts could draw him from his hiding place. The few Indians captured, on being questioned about the one subject nearest the Spanish heart, told of a land many leagues northward where gold abounded, as they had heard, in great quantities, and the army hastened on. This was a trick often employed by the natives to get the white invaders of their soil to pass on, and it seldom failed to produce the desired effect. The army moved stead-

ily northward for several months, traversing the central portion of the present state of Georgia and touching upon South Carolina.

Had not the finer and nobler feelings of the Spaniards been obscured by their blind pursuit of fortune, this tour might have been made one of great interest and of scientific usefulness. Here were strange trees laden with climbing vines, flowers of every color, herbs and grasses in numberless variety, unknown to the most learned botanist of that day. Here were birds and animals peculiar to America, and, above all, man in an uncultured state, living his simple life in the great forest among the lower orders of creation. What an opportunity for study! But the Spaniards cared not for these things; they were in search of gold, and for this shining goddess they braved every peril and suffered every hardship that human nature is capable of enduring.

The country through which they passed was far more densely settled by the red men than were the northern and central portions of the United States. The tribes were nearly all partially civilized; they lived in firmly built houses and cultivated the soil. Their civilization was fully equal to that of the lower classes in Spain. The army passed through a great many Indian villages, most of which were deserted, the occupants having fled to the woods at the approach of the invaders. Frequently the Spaniards stopped for a rest of several days in these deserted towns. The natives would sometimes remain wholly out of sight until the white men had gone; at other times they would suddenly emerge from the forest in hostile bands and attack the foraging parties sent out from the camp. Sometimes while on the march the army was harassed for whole days by marauding Indians, lurking behind trees and hedges watching for

an opportunity to send the flint-pointed shaft, or bursting forth from their coverts in bands, sending a shower of arrows and then hieing away to their hiding places with the fleetness of the antelope. Many of the Spaniards, and a far greater number of the Indians, were killed in these skirmishes. Had not the former been well protected by coats of mail, the entire army would no doubt have been destroyed within the first year.

De Soto was ever ready with friendly overtures to the fleeing chiefs. A few of them were won by his presents and kind words; others were defiant and hostile in the last degree. One of them made answer to his proffers of friendship as follows: "Others of your accursed race, in years past, have poisoned our shores. They have taught me what you are. What is your employment? To wander about like vagabonds from land to land; to rob the poor . . . to murder the defenseless. With such people I want no friendship. War, never ending, exterminating war is all I ask." The Spanish commander admired the heroism and intelligence displayed by this answer and renewed his efforts for an interview, but all in vain.

Long and weary months the Spanish army wandered about in the deep wilderness scarcely knowing whither they went, seeking fortunes as one follows an *ignis fatuus*. They procured most of their food from the fields of maize cultivated by the natives. For meat they drove with them a herd of swine. They often made Indian captives whom they pressed into service as guides or bearers of burdens. The guides on several occasions misled them into great swamps and marshes. The penalty for such an act was to be torn to pieces by bloodhounds, and they bore their punishment with the utmost fortitude.

De Soto was exceedingly anxious to make friends of the youthful queen and her people. He bade Ortiz shout across the river, and assure the natives that he desired their good will and friendship. The Indians were astonished at the appearance of the Spaniards. At the break of day they gathered in great numbers on the river bank where they now stood gazing in speechless wonder at the strange sight—warriors wrapped in bright steel armor, with glittering swords in their hands, and the richly caparisoned horses, animals which these Indians had never before seen. Presently six of the chief men of the nation entered a canoe and crossed to the encampment of their strange visitors.

"Do you come for peace or war?" they asked with the true dignity of the brave.

"I come for peace," replied De Soto; "I seek only a peaceful passage through your land; I need food for my people and beg your assistance."

After a brief conversation and an earnest request by De Soto to meet their queen in person, the chiefs recrossed the stream. Soon afterward the Spaniards saw a highly decorated canoe brought to the edge of the water, and this was followed by a gorgeous palanquin borne by four men. From the palanquin stepped a young woman who took a seat amid downy cushions in the canoe. She was rowed across the river accompanied by eight female attendants and many warriors in other canoes. The queen was dressed in the highest art known to the red children of the forest. As she stepped upon the shore the Spaniards were greatly impressed with her quiet dignity, her modest, graceful manner, and her rare beauty. Through the interpreter she and De Soto entered into conversation, in which she offered him the use of half the houses of her capital during his stay with

them. She then arose and handed to one of her maids a string of rich and costly pearls, and bade her give it to De Soto; but the latter begged that she suspend it from his neck with her own hand. This she hesitated to do as she feared that it would be a violation of her woman's modesty. But De Soto insisted that such an act could not be immodest as they were treating for peace and friendship, of all things the most serious between strange peoples. The princess yielded to his request, whereupon he took from his finger a beautiful gold ring set with a ruby and presented it to her.

The army crossed the river and occupied the apartments assigned them. This was certainly an oasis in the desert, a haven of rest for the weary travelers, and now, too, their hopes were to rise on the wings of the wind to the highest point. On inquiring for the object of their search, their fair hostess informed them that there were great quantities of gold within her territories, and sent men to the mines to bring specimens. At last the Spaniards believed they had found another Peru. Now they would load themselves with gold and return to their native land. The men returned from the mines laden with the metal, but it proved to be a worthless alloy of copper—and the Spaniards awoke from their radiant dream, and in sorrow turned again their weary eyes to the wilderness. Before leaving the country, however, the queen presented her guests with a great number of really valuable pearls.

The habit of De Soto was to compel every Indian chief whom he got into his possession to accompany him at least to the bounds of the chief's territory. His object was to prevent Indian attacks upon his army. This he made known to the queen of Cofachiqui, and informed her that it would be necessary for her to accompany them. She demurred,

but De Soto insisted and practically made her captive. This seems cruel after all the kindness with which she had received the Spaniards, but De Soto feared that in no other way could he prevent an uprising of the treacherous red men.

They left the city by the river early in May, 1540, and traversed the northern part of Georgia, the princess being carried in her palanquin by her own warriors and followed by her maids. Thus they plodded along for weeks, when one day the lovely maiden, of whom the whole army was proud, proved that she was not only a dignified queen and an ideal hostess, but a true Indian—she suddenly leaped from her couch and, running with the fleetness of a deer, darted beneath the underbrush of a dense forest. De Soto and his men never saw nor heard of her again. She probably returned to her quiet home on the banks of the river and resumed her happy reign over her people.

THE BATTLE OF MAVILA

Our adventurers now turned southward through the present state of Alabama. They made a long stop with a friendly Indian tribe on the Coosa River, and departing, left behind one of their number who had fallen in love with the chief's daughter and chose to remain with the Indians.

In southern Alabama there dwelt the most warlike and powerful of all the Indian tribes of the Southeast. The chief, whose name was Tuscaloosa, heard of the coming of the Spaniards and went to meet them, receiving them with the blandest smile and inviting them into his capital. But this was only a blind; his purpose was to entrap his white visitors and destroy them to the last man. The cap-

ital⁵² was built like a fort, surrounded by a strong wall made of timbers and surmounted by towers. De Soto entered the city gates with a portion of his army, and a little later the fight began between two servants and soon became general. The Spaniards were standing in an open square when the Indians, who had sent their squaws and children to the forest, poured out from the houses and rushed upon them with their blood-curdling war cry, and white and red men grappled in deadly combat. The white men fought their way to the main gate, outside of which their horses were tethered. Leaping upon the horses they made ready to charge, but the Indians had surged through the gates and leaped over the walls in great numbers, and now they hurled the Spaniards back for a hundred paces over the plain, when the latter turned about, made a desperate charge, and drove the Indians back into the city. Again the Indians rushed out and again the white men hurled them back, following them into the open square, and there continued their deadly sword thrusts. Thus for hours the two armies, surging to and fro, fought like demons. The Spaniards set fire to the city and in a few minutes every house was ablaze, and the roar and heat of the flames were added to the dim of battle. When night came the Indian army was destroyed. Some had probably escaped to the forest; thousands lay dead upon the ground. But the Spaniards had paid dearly for their victory. Many of them were dead and nearly all the survivors wounded.⁵³ Forty-five of their horses were killed and all their camp equipage, baggage, medicines, and pearls

⁵² The town called Mobile, Mavila, or Mavilla probably stood on the present site of the Choctaw Bluff, on the Alabama River, in Clarke County, Ala.

⁵³ The total losses from all causes at the end of this battle are stated by the "Gentleman of Elvas" at one hundred and two.

from Cofachiqui had been consumed in the fire. De Soto on his noble charger had led the fight. Early in the afternoon an arrow pierced his thigh and stuck fast, rendering him unable to sit in his saddle; but not having time to extract the arrow, he stood up in his stirrups and thus fought the remainder of the day.

This battle of Mavila was one of the greatest ever fought between the white men and Indians on the soil of the United States.⁵⁴ The army was unable to move for nearly a month after this terrible experience. There were many wounds to be dressed and but one surgeon, a man of little skill, left alive.

The army never recovered from the effects of this battle. From this day forth De Soto was a changed man. His buoyant and jovial spirits were gone. He heard that ships from Cuba with fresh supplies for his army were now in Pensacola Bay, but a few days' march distant, and thither he would go for recruits and supplies. But rumors now reached his ears that filled him with dismay. He was informed that his men were disheartened and would desert him at the earliest opportunity. Disguising himself, he mingled among them at night, listened to their conversation, and found the rumor to be true.

De Soto was deeply dejected. He felt that he could not raise another army if this one deserted him. He had spent his fortune and accomplished nothing. His faithful Isabella had written him, urging and begging that he give up his vain pursuit of fortune and return to her. But his spirit was too proud; he could not yield. How could he return with his ragged and penniless army? How could he endure

⁵⁴ See Bancroft's "United States History," Vol. I, p. 48.

poverty and humiliation after the taste of wealth and popularity he had enjoyed? No, he must succeed or die; gold was more precious than life, and disgrace was worse than death. Such was De Soto; such was Spain in the sixteenth century. This man of iron will now came to the desperate decision to head off his mutinous men by refusing to inform them about the ships and by turning northward again into the wilderness.

DISCOVERY OF THE GREAT RIVER

Sadly and wearily now the army turned again to resume its journey through the unexplored forest. The march from this day was aimless and almost hopeless. They wandered from place to place, caring little whither they went. The army was without tents or baggage; their clothing had turned to rags, and they dressed themselves in skins. Through illness and incessant fighting with the Indians their numbers were constantly decreasing. But few of their horses remained, and most of the men traveled on foot.

De Soto was no longer the frank, energetic, and trusted commander; he was moody, sullen, distant, and careworn. He had lived but forty years, but the furrows of age were deepening in his face. It is believed that from this time forth his mind was unbalanced, that he felt his pursuit of gold to be hopeless, and that he was resolved to die in the wilderness. But strange as it may appear, the one and only great historic event in the life of De Soto was yet before him; he was yet to do, all unconsciously, the one thing that would bring him enduring fame and link his name forever with American history,—he was yet to discover the Mississippi River.

During the autumn and winter months the general course

of the army was northwestward, and it was in the spring of 1541, and probably at Chickasaw Bluff, not far from the present boundary between Tennessee and Mississippi, that they first cast their eyes upon the great river. The majestic current, a mile and a half in width, swept by, bearing upon its bosom trees and logs and great quantities of driftwood. Here the mighty river had rolled for ages unknown, and De Soto was the first white man to look upon its turbid waters.⁵⁵ But he and his followers did not realize the magnitude of the discovery; they were still seeking for gold. They built four barges, crossed the river, and made a detour of several hundred miles to the northwest, through the present states of Arkansas and Missouri. This tour covered a year, and it was a year of extreme hardship and toil; a year of Indian fighting and disaster. Many of them perished, and among them the faithful interpreter, Juan Ortiz. In the early spring of 1542 the expedition returned to the Mississippi, by way of Red River, and now the great march was soon to close.

De Soto was weary unto death with his long and fruitless toil. His countenance was haggard and worn, nor was it in his power to conceal his deep depression of spirits. He was attacked by a slow fever, which increased in violence, until he saw that he must die. Calling his officers about him, naming one as his successor, he bade them an affectionate farewell and died, commending his soul to God. They buried him "darkly, at dead of night," with the impressive service of the Catholic Church, to which he had always been faithful. That the Indians might not find the body, all traces of the grave were obliterated; but the

⁵⁵ Cabeza de Vaca had, however, seen one of the mouths of the Mississippi a few years before.

Indians were soon seen prowling about and looking knowingly at the burial place, and it was determined to remove the body and sink it into the depths of the river. With solemn countenances a few of the officers rowed out to the middle of the great river at midnight, bearing the body of the dead chieftain, inclosed in a casket made of a hollowed-out log, and reverently they lowered it into the water.

The new leader lacked the indomitable spirit of De Soto, and the army soon decided to abandon the further search of fortune and return to civilization. They at length moved toward the southwest, in the hope of finding Mexico. After wandering for some months west of the Mississippi, they returned to that river, and in rudely built boats floated with the current to the Gulf of Mexico, and in September, 1643, reached a Spanish colony in Mexico. At starting, three and a half years before, they were a dashing army, many of them rich and of noble birth, adorned with the most brilliant uniforms and animated by the highest hopes of fame and fortune; now they were careworn, dejected, and penniless, dressed in the skins of wild animals and covered with wounds and scars, and less than half of their original number, the rest of them having found a grave in the wilderness.

When Isabella heard of the death of her husband, her grief was uncontrollable. Strangely eventful had been her life. Long and weary years she had waited and loved. Then came a few short years of happiness, too ravishing to endure. And now came the blow that was too heavy to be borne. Her grief was the grief of Niobe, and in a few years she had mourned herself to death.

For wild and reckless adventure the career of De Soto would be difficult to parallel. But his great expedition in the Southeast, while fascinating, was singularly barren of

good results. Aside from the accidental discovery of the great river there is nothing to mark it as useful—no study of the language and habits of the natives, no record of the flora and fauna, nor scientific observations of the topography of the country. Little indeed was added to the knowledge of the New World by this costly expedition of De Soto.

OTHER EXPLORATIONS

Spanish.—In 1528 **Panfilo de Narvaez**, with four ships and about four hundred men, explored the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico. The expedition was most unfortunate. Many were killed by the Indians; Narvaez was drowned near the mouth of the Mississippi River. At length but four were left, **Cabeza de Vaca** and three companions. These wandered about for eight years, traveling over two thousand miles, crossing the continent, and finally reaching a Spanish settlement on the western coast of Mexico.

De Vaca and his companions told wonderful stories of their travels, and one of these stories was of seven cities, known as the Seven Cities of Cibola, of which they had heard, said to contain vast treasures of gold; and **Coronado**, governor of a province in Mexico, raised an army of over a thousand men, two-thirds of whom were Mexican Indians, and went in search of these cities. He discovered many Zuni Pueblos of the Southwest, the Grand Cañon of the Colorado, and penetrated as far northeastward perhaps as the valley of the Platte River. But he found no gold, lost many of his men, and returned to Mexico broken-hearted. In the summer of 1541 Coronado and De Soto, with their respective parties, were but a few days apart, and Coronado, suspecting this, sent a messenger to find De Soto; but he was not successful. The expedition of Coronado was better managed than that of De Soto, and it yielded better results in extending geographical knowledge.

Other Spanish explorers were **Gordillo**, who explored the southeastern coast of the United States in 1520; and **De Ayllon** who, with five hundred men, sailed northward along the Atlantic coast in 1526 and made a fruitless attempt to found a colony in what is now Virginia, near the site of Jamestown. The fact that the Spanish explorers on the soil of the United States found no gold will probably account for the fact that no important Spanish settlements were made within it.

French.—The king of France refused to respect the "Line of Demarcation" by which the Pope had divided all heathen lands between

Spain and Portugal, and demanded that if Father Adam had made such a will, the will be produced. The French, however, confined their early explorations to the north. In 1534 **Jacques Cartier** made a voyage to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, exploring southern Labrador, Prince Edward Island, and Anticosti. He returned to France, and the next year came again and sailed up the St. Lawrence River as far as the present site of Montreal, so called from the name he gave the place—Mount Royal. The explorations of other Frenchmen—Champlain, Allouez, Marquette, Joliet, and La Salle—will be mentioned in a later chapter. The English explorers were settlers as well and will be treated under colonization.

CHAPTER IV

COLONIZATION—THE SOUTHERN COLONIES

THE New World had been discovered for a century, and the territory of the present United States was still a wilderness, uninhabited except by the native savage.⁵⁶ It was not possible that such a condition could endure. North America presented wonderful opportunities for future development. It was bounded by two oceans, while Europe had but one; its central river valley for extent and fertility was unequaled in the world; nor could Europe match the Great Lakes, the cataract of Niagara, the Mississippi River, the Rocky Mountains, or the Grand Cañons of the Colorado and the Yellowstone. It was only through colonization that this vast and beautiful land could become truly useful to mankind, and the time was ripe for a portion of Europe to transplant itself permanently to North America. The burning question during the closing decades of the sixteenth century was, Which of the European states will succeed in becoming the mother of civilization in North America? The chances all seemed to favor Spain. Spain had taken possession of Mexico and South America⁵⁷ and

⁵⁶ The only settlement of white men in the present United States was at St. Augustine, Fla., founded 1565, and at Santa Fé, New Mexico, settled in 1582 or later. The great French Huguenot, Coligny, first sent Ribault, who made a settlement in Florida; but they were brutally massacred by Menendez, a Spaniard. Gourgues, a Frenchman, afterward made fearful retaliation by destroying the Spanish colony.

⁵⁷ Except the eastern portion which belonged to Portugal.

of the adjacent islands of the sea; and, moreover, she had laid claim to all of North America on the ground of the Pope's decree of a century before. Her great advantage lay in the fact that she was by far the greatest maritime power of the earth. But Spain was ill fitted to found empires and build nations. Her motives were too low. She sought, not to found self-supporting colonies, but to plunder the natives in her mad march for gold. For gold she slew the red man, for gold she enslaved the black man, and gold proved the ruin of Spain.

For nearly a hundred years Spain had held undisputed sway in the New World. Neither England nor France had followed up their early discoveries with attempts at colonization. England during the sixteenth century was struggling with the Reformation and the political questions accompanying it; France was rent with civil and religious wars. Both were thus deterred for many years from giving serious attention to the new lands of the West, though both agreed in disputing the exclusive claims of Spain.

Meantime Spain had a clear field. No other nation ever had such an opportunity to establish a great empire.⁵⁸ But Spain proved unworthy of her trust. The chief cause of her downfall was, as stated, her too great devotion to the god of gold. This caused a decline in her agriculture and manufacturing. But there were other causes. Spain lost her best artisans and laborers through the expulsion of the Moors; she lost much of her commercial spirit through the expulsion of the Jews; and, worst of all, the horrors of the Inquisition robbed the nation of much of its choicest blood. In addition to all this the efforts of Spain to increase

⁵⁸ See Johns Hopkins University Studies, Vol. VIII, pp. 122-123.

her political power in Europe and to lead the forces of the counter reformation only weakened the Empire and hastened its downfall.

While Spain was declining through her own inherent weakness, France and England were rapidly rising. France had reached a season of peace and also a season of wide influence under the reign of that broad-minded statesman, King Henry of Navarre, the author of the Edict of Nantes. The French now began to occupy Acadia and the St. Lawrence Valley. But it is with the work of England that we are here concerned. The reformation in England had continued through the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and, after a momentary reaction under Mary, had been completed under Elizabeth. The long reign of "Good Queen Bess," ending in 1603, brought not only internal peace, a notable revival of industries at home and activity on the sea, it also raised the British nation to a first-class power. And the Spaniard at length found his match in the Briton.

For five centuries, in their island home, the Norman and the Saxon, the Angle and the Jute, had commingled, until each had lost his identity in the producing of a race unsurpassed by any other in history—the English race; and this people now, at the close of a long and successful struggle for religious liberty, had taken a foremost place among the nations. England was now seized with a desire to expand, and her attention was turned toward the New World.

Various were the motives of the British in turning their attention to colony building. One of the chief causes was a feeling of rivalry with Spain; another was a belief that the island was already overpopulated and needed an outlet for its surplus population. To these causes must be added the desire to search for gold, to find a northwest passage, and,

as developed a little later, a belief that the colonies could be made to furnish certain commodities, such as silk and wine, which could not be produced in England.

Reviving the half-forgotten voyages of the Cabots, England laid claim on this ground to the greater portion of North America. Conscious of the strength of youth, Englishmen set forth upon the sea, and stood ready to dispute with Spain the dominion of the ocean. The Elizabethan Era is renowned in English history, not only for its literature, but for its growing power upon the sea, and especially for its hardy and skillful seamen. There were Hawkins the slave trader, the famous half-brothers, Humphrey Gilbert and Walter Raleigh, Gosnold, Newport, and Frobisher, and above all, Francis Drake, the greatest seaman before Nelson. Drake was the first to put into practice the policy of weakening Spain by attacking her in America.⁵⁹ Drake it was who made a great voyage around the earth ending in 1580, the second in history, in which he took many Spanish prizes; and henceforth he was known by the Spaniards as the Dragon. Eight years after the completion of his famous voyage he played an important part in the most momentous event of the century in which he lived—the defeat of the Spanish Armada.

Never before had Europe witnessed so vast a display of power upon the sea as that which Philip II now put forth in the "Invincible" Armada. Spain was at this time by far the richest and greatest nation of Europe or the world. Mexican and Peruvian gold had poured into the Spanish coffers in uncounted millions,⁶⁰ and the power of the Empire was

⁵⁹ Fiske's "Old Virginia and Her Neighbors," p. 24.

⁶⁰ It is estimated that by looting the Indians of Mexico and Peru, Spain was enriched by a sum equal to \$5,000,000,000.

felt to the uttermost parts of the sea. This was the golden age of the Spanish Empire, and the Armada was the most notable product of that age. With this vast fleet Philip would now smite and disable the island kingdom, and at the same time he would present a spectacle to the world that would overawe any other nation that might have the temerity to measure swords with the Castilian. The Armada consisted of one hundred and thirty ships, the largest ever seen in Europe, bearing thirty thousand soldiers and three thousand heavy guns. Not only to chasten England for daring to claim a portion of the New World did Philip send forth this fleet, but especially to force back into the Church the straying Briton who had wandered from the Catholic fold.

Great was the excitement in the British Isles when the people knew of the hostile coming of the Armada. Europe stood aghast with consternation. Had England been conquered, France and the Netherlands would immediately have been attacked. But the English rose to the occasion. Forty thousand soldiers were soon under arms. The English fleet was much smaller than the Spanish, but the ships were swifter, and above all, they were manned by such masters of the sea as Lord Howard of Effingham and Hawkins and Frobisher and Drake, while the Armada was commanded by the Duke of Medina Sidonia, a man of little skill and less experience. The gigantic fleet approached the Plymouth harbor in May, 1588, in the form of a grand crescent seven miles in extent. The English met the foe and destroyed many of their ships by making sudden dashes, then sailing beyond the reach of the Spanish guns, and again by sending fire ships among them. In a few weeks the Spanish fleet was greatly disabled, and, moreover, it was penned within the German Ocean. The conquest of England was now

years passed before an English vessel reached Roanoke. When at last help came, the colony had utterly disappeared and its fate was never known.⁶⁴ Raleigh was still undismayed. He exclaimed to a friend as late as 1602, the year of his fifth expedition, which also failed, "I shall yet live to see it an English nation." But the great man's fortunes now took a downward turn. His royal patron died, and in her place came the bustling little egotist, James I. Raleigh fell into disfavor; he was cast into prison, where he remained for twelve years, meantime writing his "History of the World." Then, after a brief season of liberty, he was again imprisoned on the false charge of treason and was soon after beheaded. No more dastardly deed was ever committed by a British sovereign than the murder of Raleigh.

Notwithstanding the fact that none of the colonies planted by Raleigh was permanent, he must be awarded the honor of securing the possession of North America to the English race, of making known the advantages of its soil and climate, and creating the spirit of colonization among his countrymen.⁶⁵ It was Raleigh above all men who prepared the way for successful and permanent English colonization on the soil of the United States.

VIRGINIA

At the beginning of the seventeenth century all the eastern portion of North America which afterward became the thirteen original states was known as Virginia. Great in-

⁶⁴ Years afterward the people of Virginia found children among the Indians with light hair and eyes, and it was believed that they were descendants of members of White's colony who were probably adopted by Indian tribes.

⁶⁵ Winsor, Vol. III, p. 334.

terest in American colonization was awakened throughout the kingdom by a little book on "Western Planting," inspired by Raleigh and written by Richard Hakluyt. Several voyages were made before any permanent settlement was established.⁶⁶ These voyages, undertaken by individuals, had not been successful financially or otherwise. From this cause others were deterred from risking their fortunes in similar enterprises. But the success of various commercial companies which had multiplied in the last half century for the purpose of trading with distant countries, especially of the East India Company, chartered in 1600, naturally suggested similar enterprises for the western world.⁶⁷ And further, the corporation as a form of local subordinate government had long been familiar to the English merchant, as Osgood says, and readily "lent itself to plans of colonial extension."⁶⁸ Accordingly, in 1606, two companies were formed, Virginia was divided into two parts and a part granted to each, the London Company and the Plymouth Company.⁶⁹ They obtained a royal charter enabling each to found a colony, granting the right to coin money, raise

⁶⁶ In 1602 Bartholomew Gosnold, one of Raleigh's captains, sailed to Cape Cod and Buzzards Bay, intending to found a colony, but failed to do so. In 1603 Martin Pring made a voyage to New England; a son of Humphrey Gilbert sailed to Chesapeake Bay and was killed by the Indians. In 1605 Captain Weymouth made a voyage to the Kennebec River and returned with five Indians.

⁶⁷ Doyle, Vol. I, p. 108.

⁶⁸ To the English motives for colonization, as given on a preceding page, another was now added — rivalry with the French. The French king had, in 1603, made an extensive grant in America to De Monts, and colonists had gone out in 1604. The French grant was from forty degrees to sixty degrees north latitude; the English from thirty-four to forty-five degrees. These claims greatly overlapped, and thus were sown the seeds of future strife between the two nations.

⁶⁹ So called because men composing the former were London



1554—SIR WALTER RALEIGH—1618.

BY FREDERIGO ZUCHARO, 1588.

From the original portrait in the National Portrait Gallery, London, England.



revenue, and to make laws, but reserving much power to the king. Each was given a block of land a hundred miles square, and the settlements were to be at least one hundred miles apart. The London Company had permission to plant a colony anywhere on the coast between the thirty-fourth and forty-first degrees north latitude, and to what they did we now direct our attention.⁷⁰

Great haste was now made by the London Company in preparing for colonization in America, and on the 19th of December, 1606, three small ships bearing one hundred and five colonists and commanded by Christopher Newport, a famous sea captain, set out upon the wintry sea for the New World. The largest of the vessels, the *Susan Constant*, was of one hundred tons burden and the smallest of but twenty tons. The voyage was long and dreary, and it consumed the remainder of the winter. On reaching the American shore the weary voyagers were greeted by the singing of birds and the fragrance of flowers. Entering Chesapeake Bay they named the two projecting points at its sides Cape Henry and Cape Charles, after the two young sons of the king.⁷¹ They chose out one of the great rivers flowing into the bay, left upon it the name of King James, ascended it for about thirty miles, and founded a town which also they called after the name of their king. Thus was founded the first of the permanent settlements which were to multiply and expand, and in three hundred years to grow into the merchants, the latter, Plymouth merchants. The two companies were really but subdivisions of one great company.

⁷⁰ See Poore's "Charters and Constitutions," Part II, p. 1888 *sq.* The Plymouth Company made an effort to found a colony the same year on the coast of Maine, but it was not successful.

⁷¹ Henry, the elder and heir to the throne, died in his boyhood, and his brother became King Charles I of England.

greatest nation of the earth![?] Let us take a glance at the colonists. It would be difficult to imagine a set of men less fitted to build a colony and found a nation than were those who settled at Jamestown in 1607. Among them were but twelve laborers, a few carpenters, a blacksmith, a mason, a barber, and a tailor, while more than fifty were "gentlemen," that is, men without an occupation, idle, shiftless men who had joined the enterprise without realizing that years of labor were essential to success. But there were a few men of worth in the company. There were Wingfield, who became the first president of the governing council, Gosnold, the famous mariner and pupil of Raleigh, and John Smith, the hero of many strange adventures. They soon erected a few tents and small cabins; some, however, found a dwelling place by burrowing into the ground. For a church they nailed a board between two trees, stretched a canvas over it, and beneath this the Rev. Robert Hunt held services according to the rites of the Church of England.

Captain Newport, after spending some weeks exploring the James River, returned with his ships to England, promising to come again as soon as practicable. The colony was soon in a pitiable condition. Arriving too late to plant spring crops, and finding little cleared land fit for cultivation, the men were soon reduced to short rations. The allowance to each man for a day was a pint of wormeaten barley or wheat, made into pottage. Governor Wingfield lacked the ability to rule the men, and there were constant quarrels among them. To their other misfortunes was added a continual fear of Indian attacks; and owing to their exposure in the swamps and their lack of proper food, they were attacked by fevers. They died sometimes three or four in a night, and before the end of September half of the

little colony, including Gosnold, had found a grave in the wilderness.

The entire colony would no doubt have perished before the return of Newport but for the courage and vigor of one man, the most notable and conspicuous character in the early colonial history of America—John Smith. Smith was still a young man, but according to his own story his record was an extraordinary one. When scarcely beyond boyhood he joined the French army and later that of the Netherlands in which he served for several years. He then embarked on the Mediterranean and was thrown overboard as a heretic, swam to an uninhabited island, was picked up by a vessel and carried to Egypt. We next find him traversing Italy on foot, slaying three Turks successfully in single combat in Transylvania, and at length captured by the Turks and sold into slavery. He slew his master with a flail, escaped into the Scythian Desert, wandered through every country of Europe, and joined the Virginia colonists soon after reaching his native land. It was now left for his sojourn in the American forest to furnish the crowning romance of his life.

While exploring the Chickahominy River he was taken captive by the Indians. After entertaining his captors for several days with a pocket compass and such curios, he was condemned to death by the savages. His head was laid on the block, when at the last moment a little daughter of the chief, named Pocahontas, rushed forward, laid her head upon the head of the intended victim, and begged that his life be spared. Her request was granted, and he was sent back rejoicing to his people.

This romantic story and the accounts of his other adventures above mentioned rest wholly on Smith's own

testimony, and most historical writers in recent years are disposed to discredit them, especially the story of his rescue by the Indian girl. It seems clear that John Smith gave a highly colored narrative in relating his adventures, but there is reason to believe that the story of his rescue by Pocahontas is true.⁷³ The only ground for doubting the story is Smith's well-known spirit of boasting and the fact that in his first account of his capture by the Indians he does not mention this incident. On the other hand, there is one powerful argument, which seems almost conclusive, in favor of the truth of the story. It was not an unusual occurrence among Indian tribes, when they were about to put a captive to death, for some impulsive Indian, usually a female and in most cases a member of the chief's family, to beg the life of the intended victim at the last moment.⁷⁴ Such a request was seldom denied, and the rescue was usually followed by a formal adoption of the rescued one into the tribe; and this is exactly what Smith claimed was done in his case, though he was given his freedom to return to his colony. How could he have invented a story coinciding so perfectly with an Indian custom with which he could not have been familiar? Such a thing is far less credible than the story itself.

It is not disputed, however, that John Smith was a man of wonderful energy, and that he did more for Virginia than any other of the early settlers. He soon became governor of the colony, and he saved the colonists from starvation by trading with the Indians for corn. He succeeded above all others in keeping the men at work and thus laid the foundations for future prosperity. Smith later explored Chesapeake Bay and its rivers and afterward the New England

⁷³ Fiske makes a strong argument in favor of the truth of the story.

⁷⁴ See the case of Juan Ortiz, above, p. 60.

coast, and he made maps of them that are remarkable for their accuracy.

Of Pocahontas it is known that, although she was a rollicking, romping girl who often visited Jamestown and amused the colonists with her pranks, she grew into stately womanhood and married one of the colonists, John Rolfe, a widower—that she accompanied her husband to England, where she was received with great favor, and that she died in England after giving birth to a son who afterward made Virginia his home and became the ancestor of several of the most prominent families of the state.

Let us return to our colony. Life in the forest bore heavily on the little band, and but thirty-eight of them were alive when, in January, 1608, Captain Newport returned with food supplies and one hundred and twenty more colonists. Others came from time to time, and in 1609, when John Smith returned to England, the colony numbered five hundred. The government had been placed, by the first charter, in the hands of a council of thirteen, resident in England and appointed by the King, which should coöperate with a local council. But a new charter was granted in 1609 by which the council in England, originally distinct from the company, now became a part of it,¹⁴ while the local council was abolished, being superseded by a governor. By this charter the bounds of the settlement were enlarged to four hundred miles along the coast, two hundred miles each way from Old Point Comfort, and extended “up into the land throughout from sea to sea west and northwest.” The company was also given much greater power than that granted by the charter in 1606.

Lord de La Warr, or Delaware, was appointed governor

¹⁴ H. L. Osgood, in *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. XI, p. 274.

of Virginia under the charter of 1609. He embarked with nine ships and five hundred men and women for Virginia; but encountering a terrible storm off the Bermuda Islands, he was delayed at those islands for many months—and woe to Virginia in consequence! The “Starving Time” came. The Indians were now hostile and no food could be obtained from them. Men with blanched faces wandered about actually dying for food. The death rate was frightful. Of the five hundred left by Smith the fall before only sixty remained alive in the spring of 1610. These now decided to abandon Virginia and embark in the four little pinnaces that were left them, hoping to reach dear old England. Early in June they gathered together their meager possessions, and with the funeral roll of drums left their cabins behind. Sadly, yet joyfully, they floated down the river to its mouth, when lo! far off in the horizon they beheld a moving speck—and another and another! They waited—and up the bay swept the ships of Lord Delaware!. They all now returned to Jamestown, and the colony of Virginia was born again. How slender the thread on which hung infant life of the firstborn of the United States!

Delaware soon had the colony on its feet, but the next year he returned to England and sent Sir Thomas Dale to govern in his stead. Dale was a man of much ability and strength of character, and as Fiske aptly puts it, “Under his masterful guidance Virginia came out from the valley of the shadow of death.” He introduced several radical reforms, the most important of which was the partial abolishing of communism. Before his coming the land and other possessions were held in common; no one owned private property; each man was a servant of the state, and the tendency of many was to do as little as possible. Dale gave

each of the old settlers three acres of ground with the right of possessing private property. The effect was to stimulate industry, and from this time there was never a scarcity of food in Virginia. The new governor also established other settlements along the James, and although he was an austere man, ruled with a hand of iron, and was merciless in his punishment of criminals, his five years' stay wrought a great change for the better in Virginia.

In 1612, during the incumbency of Dale, a third charter was granted to Virginia. This charter added the Bermuda Islands to Virginia, empowered the company to raise money by means of lotteries, and was far more liberal than either of its predecessors in granting governmental powers. It is interesting to note the first steps toward democratic government in America as shown by the rapidly succeeding charters of Virginia. King James, blindly devoted to the autocratic theory of government, refused to embody any democratic features in the first charter. The local council was subject to a superior council resident in England, and both were under the instructions of the king. The charter guaranteed the rights of Englishmen to the people, but gave them no voice in their own government. But the colony came to the verge of failure, and in the belief that a more liberal government would enhance the prospects of success, a second charter was applied for and granted. By this charter of 1609 all vacancies in the council, as also the executive office, were to be filled by the vote of the stockholders. This gave the company the character of a body politic, the right of self-government. It was a great advance over the first one in the process of transplanting English government to American soil, a great step toward the more important charter of 1612. By this third charter all governmental

power, including the making of their own laws and the choosing of all officials, was given into the hands of the stockholders. But the company did not immediately extend this right to the colonists; it placed local affairs in the hands of a governor of its own choosing. A few years later, however, the liberal element, led by Sir Edwin Sandys, gained control of the company, and to attract new settlers, as well as to curb the power of a profligate or tyrannical governor, the company instructed its governor to call an assembly of the settlers and give them a share in the government. Hence came the House of Burgesses—the first representative body in America.⁷⁵

Meantime the white and red races were united in Virginia by the marriage of Rolfe and the daughter of the Indian chief Powhatan.⁷⁶ This secured peace with the Indians for eight years, until the death of Powhatan. About 1616 tobacco became the staple product of the colony. The English learned its use from the Indians, and marvelously soon after the discovery of the weed the use of it spread through every civilized land. It was the one thing that found a ready sale in England. Every farmer raised tobacco, and it was grown in the streets of Jamestown; it even became the money of the colony, and the minister and public officers were paid their salaries in tobacco.⁷⁷

The colony, however, was, on the whole, a disappointment to the company that had founded it. One of their

⁷⁵ See Morey's "Genesis of a Written Constitution," *Annals of American Academy*, Vol. I, p. 529 sq.

⁷⁶ The name of this chief was Wahunsunakok. The name of the tribe was Powhatan, and the English called the chief also by this name.

⁷⁷ The tobacco sent to England in one year, 1704, exceeded 18,000,000 pounds. By 1750 the yearly exports of Virginia and Maryland reached 85,000,000 pounds. Beer, "Commercial Policy of England," p. 51.



1595 — POCAHONTAS — 1617.

1616.

From a photograph owned by Captain Frank S. Robertson, Abingdon, Va., from the original portrait.



chief objects was the same that had lured Pizarro and De Soto—a desire for gold. They were not content with the sassafras roots and cedar logs that their ships kept bringing, nor even with the tobacco. When, therefore, the London Company, or Virginia Company, as named by the second charter, were convinced that gold could not be found in that part of America, their interest in the colony was greatly diminished, and to this fact was due much of the anarchy and disorder in Virginia.

After the departure of Dale the colonists suffered severely for a few years at the hands of a wicked governor, Samuel Argall, who robbed and plundered them in every way in his power. But better times were at hand. About this time Sir Edwin Sandys gained the ascendancy in the Virginia Company, and his energy and wisdom were soon felt in the colony. One of his first acts was to send the colony, in 1619, one of its best governors, Sir George Yeardley, who became the first to introduce popular government into America.

The most memorable year in the early history of Virginia was 1619. It was this year that witnessed the beginnings of two institutions, opposite in character, each of which was destined to play a great part in the future development of the new nation that was now struggling to be born. The first was government by the people, and the second the institution of slavery.⁷⁸ The first was to increase and expand until it developed into the greatest self-governing people in the world's history; the second was to fasten itself like a blight on the free institutions of the same people and in the end to bring about the sacrifice of tens of thou-

⁷⁸ A Dutch vessel brought twenty negroes and sold them to the colonists. Thus began a traffic in slaves that continued till after the Revolution.

sands of human lives. In November of the preceding year the Virginia Company had issued an order limiting the power of the governor of the colony and establishing a legislature of burgesses to be elected by the people. The first House of Burgesses, composed of twenty-two delegates, met in July, 1619, soon after the coming of Yeardley, and ere-long the people were living under laws of their own making, and a "government of the people, for the people, and by the people" thus gained its first foothold on American soil. This granting of a share in the government to the people attracted new settlers, who, from this time, came in ever increasing numbers.

This same year of 1619 witnessed the coming of ninety young women to be wives of the colonists. To secure one of these prizes the bachelor planter was required to win the maiden's consent and to pay her passage across the sea (about one hundred and twenty pounds of tobacco), and as there were many more men than maidens, the courtship must have been very interesting. Other women were brought from time to time, and family life was soon firmly established in the new colony. Indeed, from this time forth life in Virginia had its attractions as well as its hardships. The lowing of the herds, the chattering of the fowls, the shouts of playing children, the sound of the builder's hammer, and of the woodman's ax ringing out from the depth of the forest, bespoke a happy and prosperous community.

But colonial life still had its misfortunes. A great calamity befell the people of Virginia in 1622 in the form of an Indian massacre. The friendly chief Powhatan was dead, and his brother Opekankano, who had never been friendly to the English, now reigned in his stead. This chief now instituted a massacre in which three hundred and forty-

seven of the settlers were killed. The blow was a dreadful one; but the whites, recovering from the shock, pursued the savages with merciless fury, putting to death a far greater number than they had lost. Twenty-two years later this same chief, now an aged man, made a second attack on the settlement, killing over two hundred, but his tribe was again put down with a firm hand and himself taken captive and put to death.⁷⁹

In 1624 the Virginia Company, after a severe struggle with the Crown, was deprived of its charter. The chief cause of this was that the Puritan element, which formed the backbone of the opposition in Parliament, had also gained the ascendancy in the Virginia Company. Nor did James like the action of the company a few years before in extending representative government to the colonists. The result was the loss of the charter. Virginia became a royal colony and so it continued to the war of the Revolution. But the change had little effect on the colony, for Charles I, who soon came to the throne, was so occupied with troubles at home that he gave less attention to the government of Virginia than the company had done, and popular government continued to flourish. Of the six thousand people who had come from England before 1625 only one-fifth now remained alive, but this number was rapidly augmented by immigration. Governor Yeardley died in 1627, and John Harvey, a man of little ability or character, became governor. Harvey kept the Virginians in a turmoil for some years, but the colony was now so firmly established that his evil influence did not greatly affect its prosperity.

The longest rule of one man in our colonial history was

⁷⁹ He was killed while in captivity by one of his own race, so some authorities declare.

that of Sir William Berkeley, who became governor of Virginia in 1642 and continued to hold the office till 1677, with the exception of a few years under the Commonwealth. Berkeley was a rough, outspoken man with much common sense, but with a hot temper and a narrow mind.⁸⁰ He was a Cavalier of the extreme type, and during the first period of his governorship he spent much of his energy in persecuting the Puritans, many of whom found refuge in Maryland.

About the time Berkeley assumed the office a fierce religious war broke out in England between the Cavaliers and the Roundheads, or Puritans. The latter, led by Oliver Cromwell, one of the strongest personalities in British history, eventually triumphed over the Cavaliers and, in 1649, King Charles I was beheaded by his own subjects. Berkeley, with most of the Virginians, was loyal to the Crown, and he invited the young son of the executed monarch to come to America and become king of Virginia. But Parliament would suffer no opposition from the colony, and it sent a commission with a fleet to reduce the colony to allegiance. The Virginians were only mildly royalist and they yielded without a struggle; but they lost nothing by yielding, for the Commonwealth granted them greater freedom in self-government than they had ever before enjoyed.

In two ways the brief period of the Commonwealth in England had a marked effect on the history of Virginia. For the first and only time during the colonial period Virginia enjoyed absolute self-government. Not only the assembly, but the governor and council were elective for the time, and the people never forgot this taste of practical independence. The other respect in which the triumph of the Roundheads in England affected Virginia was that it caused

⁸⁰ Doyle, Vol. I, p. 207.

an exodus of Cavaliers from England to the colony, similar to the great Puritan migration to Massachusetts, caused by the triumph of the opposite party twenty years before.

An anonymous pamphlet published in London in 1649 gives a glowing account of Virginia, a land where "there is nothing wanting," a land of 15,000 English and 300 negro slaves, 20,000 cattle, many kinds of wild animals, "above thirty sorts" of fish, farm products, fruits, and vegetables in great quantities, and the like. If this was intended to induce home seekers to migrate to Virginia, it had the desired effect. The Cavaliers came in large numbers; and they were of a far better class than were those who had first settled the colony. Among them were the ancestors of George Washington, James Madison, James Monroe, John Marshall, and of many others of the far-famed "First Families of Virginia." By the year 1670 the population of the colony had increased to 38,000, 6,000 of whom were indentured servants, while the African slaves had increased to 2,000.⁸¹

The Restoration of 1660 brought the exiled Stuart to the British throne as Charles II, and Berkeley again became governor of Virginia. Oliver Cromwell, the Lord Protector of England, had died in 1658, and Richard, his son and successor, too weak to hold the reins of government, laid aside the heavy burden the next year and Charles soon afterward became king. Charles was not a religious enthusiast, as his father had been; he was a worthless debauchee, who cared much for his own ease and little for the welfare of his subjects. The new sovereign was utterly without gratitude to the people of Virginia for their former loyalty, and indeed it may be said that his accession marks the be-

⁸¹ For indentured servants see *post*, p. 277.

ginning of a long period of turmoil, discontent, and political strife in Virginia. Charles immediately began to appoint to the offices of the colony a swarm of worthless place hunters, and some years later he gave away to his court favorites, the Earl of Arlington and Lord Culpeper, nearly all the soil of Virginia, a large portion of which was well settled and under cultivation. The Navigation Law, enacted ten years before, was now, at the beginning of Charles's reign, reënacted with amendments and put in force. By this the colonists were forbidden to export goods in other than English vessels, or elsewhere than to England. Imports also were to be brought from England only. The prices, therefore, of both exports and imports were set in London, and the arrangement enabled the English merchants to grow rich at the expense of the colonists. The result was a depreciation in the price of tobacco, the circulating medium, to such a degree as to impoverish many planters and almost to bring about insurrection. And now to add to the multiplying distresses of Virginia, Governor Berkeley, who had been fairly popular during his former ten-year governorship, seems to have changed decidedly for the worse. He was a Royalist to the core, and appeared to have lost whatever sympathy with the people he ever had. He was accused of conniving with custom-house officials in schemes of extortion and blackmail, and even of profiting by their maladministration. Popular government now suffered a long eclipse in Virginia. In 1661 Berkeley secured the election of a House of Burgesses to his liking, and he kept them in power for fifteen years, refusing to order another election.

But the people, who had been long imbibing the spirit of liberty in their forest home, at last rose in rebellion against

the tyranny of their cynical old governor. The uprising is known as Bacon's Rebellion. The general cause of this rebellion was political and economic tyranny; the immediate occasion was Berkeley's Indian policy. The Indians became hostile in 1675, and for many months the massacre of men, women, and children in the outlying settlements was of almost daily occurrence. But Berkeley persistently refused to call out the militia, for the reason, it was believed, that he did not wish to disturb the fur trade, from which he was receiving a good income. In March, 1676, the assembly raised a force of five hundred men, but when they were ready to begin a campaign, Berkeley suddenly disbanded them. The people were now exasperated and ready for rebellion—and then rose Bacon.

Nathaniel Bacon was a young lawyer of noble English birth, a collateral descendant of the great author and jurist of the same name; he was rich, eloquent, and popular. In defiance of the governor he raised a band of men and marched against the Indians, inflicting on them a stinging defeat. Berkeley, greatly incensed at the young man's insubordination, started after him with a troop of horse; but scarcely had he left Jamestown when word reached him that the whole lower peninsula had risen against him. Hastening back, he found that he must do something to placate the people, and he dissolved the long assembly and ordered a new election. This was duly held, and Bacon was elected to the burgesses. This assembly passed a series of reform laws known as "Bacon's Laws." The old governor, deeply offended at this course, dissolved the assembly and proclaimed Bacon, who had again marched against the Indians, a traitor; whereupon Bacon, at the head of several hundred men, marched upon Jamestown and burned it to the

ground. Berkeley fled before the armed invaders and took refuge on the eastern side of the Chesapeake. Bacon had now full control of Virginia's affairs, and he even contemplated resistance to the king's troops, that were said to be on their way to the colony, when a deadlier foe than armed men—the swamp fever—ended his short, brilliant career, and Virginia was destined to spend another hundred years as a royal colony.

Bacon was the life and soul of the insurrection, and after his death his followers scattered like frightened quail and Berkeley was soon again in possession. The vindictive old governor now wreaked his vengeance on the followers of Bacon until he had hanged more than a score, including the Rev. William Drummond, a Scotch Presbyterian and one of the leading men in the colony.⁸² But the king was displeased with Berkeley's rancor. "The old fool has taken more lives in that naked country than I have taken for the murder of my father," said Charles. Berkeley was recalled. He sailed for England in the spring of 1677, leaving his family and evidently expecting to be reinstated. But the king refused to see him, and he died, broken-hearted, a few months later.

The Bacon Rebellion, occurring at the same time with King Philip's War in New England, and exactly a century before that greater rebellion, so vastly different in its results, was one of the most important episodes in our colonial history. Bacon was a true reformer, talented in a high degree, but somewhat wanting in judgment. His intention no doubt, in case the king's forces came, was to hold them at

⁸² The king afterward granted aid to Mrs. Drummond, declaring that her husband had been put to death contrary to the laws of the kingdom.

bay until the grievances of the colonists, including the oppression of the Navigation Laws, should have been redressed. But in this he doubtless would have failed and would have paid the penalty of resistance with his life. His death was therefore opportune, and his influence on the future of the colony was probably greater than if his life had been prolonged.

The speedy downfall of Berkeley, however, had little effect in rescuing Virginia from the grasp of the Royalists. One of the court favorites to whom the soil of Virginia had been granted, Lord Culpeper, came out as governor, and a rapacious tyrant he was. In 1684 he was succeeded by Lord Howard of Effingham, who was not a whit better than Culpeper. Among the later governors were Nicholson, who had had a notable career in New York, and Sir Edmund Andros, who had had a more notable career in New England. In each of these the colonists found a great improvement over such creatures as Culpeper and Effingham. But they fell short when compared with Alexander Spottswood (1710-1722), one of the ablest and best governors of colonial Virginia. The habit of governing through lieutenants, the governor residing in England, became prevalent early in the eighteenth century. One man, Douglas, was nominal governor for forty years, drawing a large salary, though he never crossed the Atlantic Ocean.⁸⁸

In spite of the many drawbacks, of the unworthy governors and their frequent quarrels with the assembly and people, Virginia continued to prosper, and by the end of the seventeenth century the population numbered a hundred thousand. The people up to this time were almost wholly

⁸⁸ Spottswood and many other real governors were called "lieutenant governors," the "governor" residing in England.

English, but in 1700 several hundred Huguenots made their home in the colony. About 1730 the Scotch-Irish began to settle in large numbers in the Shenandoah Valley, and soon after these came the Germans. The frontier was moved gradually westward from the tide-water counties until it had crossed the summit of the Alleghanies. The coming of these peoples infused new modes of life, new religious customs, new democratic ideas into Virginian society; and in the course of the next half century many vital changes were brought about, as the abolition of primogeniture and entail, the separation of Church and State, and religious toleration.⁸⁴ Thus the various nationalities, blending slowly into one people, spent the remainder of the colonial period hewing away the forests and laying the foundations of a great state.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ See Fiske's "Old Virginia," Vol. II, p. 396.

⁸⁵ The limits of this volume will not admit a full history of the several colonies. This must be sought in the various state histories and in such works as those of Doyle and Fiske. A short account of the domestic and political institutions of the thirteen colonies will be given in a later chapter.

NOTES

William and Mary College.—The second college founded in America was William and Mary, Harvard alone preceding it. The father of this college was the Rev. Dr. James Blair, and the object was to train young men for the ministry. Blair was sent to England in 1691 to secure funds. He met with fair success until he approached Sir Edward Seymour, the treasury commissioner. When Blair declared that the people of Virginia had souls to save as well as the people of England, Seymour exclaimed: "Souls! damn your souls. Grow tobacco!" The good doctor, however, succeeded. He returned in 1693 with the charter, became the first president of the college, and held the position for fifty years. The college was located at Williamsburg. Next to Blair its best friend was Governor Nicholson.

Two Virginia Love Stories.—Governor Francis Nicholson was one of the best governors Virginia had; but on one occasion he lost his

dignity. He fell madly in love with a daughter of Major Burwell near Williamsburg, but the young lady refused him. Nicholson raved about the matter in public and declared that if any one else married the girl, he would "cut the throats of three men: the bridegroom, the minister, and the justice who issued the license." Suspecting that a brother of Dr. Blair was the favored one, he threatened vengeance on the whole family of Blairs. In fact the governor made such a fool of himself that he was called to England (1705) at the instance of Dr. Blair. (Fiske's "Old Virginia," Vol. II, p. 122.)

The other love story ended more happily. The Rev. Professor Camm, the last president of William and Mary before the Revolution, was a middle-aged bachelor. He had a young friend who was desperately in love with a Miss Betsey Hansford. But his wooing was fruitless. He then begged Professor Camm to intercede for him. Camm did so; he bombarded Betsey with Scripture texts to prove that matrimony is a duty, but without avail. At length the young woman suggested that the professor go home and look up II Samuel xii. 7. He did so and found the text "Thou art the man,"—and, well, Camm himself married Betsey. (*Ibid.* p. 127.)

Governor Berkeley's Report to the Commissioners of Plantations (1671). Extracts.

15. What number of planters, servants, and slaves?

Answer.—We suppose, and I am very sure we do not much miscount, that there is in Virginia above forty thousand persons, men, women, and children, and of which there are two thousand black slaves, six thousand Christian servants, for a short time, the rest are born in the country or have come in to settle and seat, in bettering their condition in a growing country.

17. What number of people have yearly died within your plantation and government for these seven years last past, both whites and blacks?

Answer.—All new plantations are, for an age or two, unhealthy, until they are thoroughly cleared of wood; but unless we had a particular register office, for the denoting of all that died, I cannot give a particular answer to this query, only this I can say, that there is not often unseasoned hands (as we term them) that die now, whereas heretofore not one of five escaped the first year.

23. What course is taken about instructing the people within your government in the Christian religion?

Answer.—The same course that is taken in England out of towns; every man according to his ability instructing his children. We have

forty-eight parishes, and our ministers are well paid, and by my consent should be better if they would pray oftener and preach less.

But of all other commodities, so of this, the worst are sent us, and we had few that we could boast of, since the persecution in Cromwell's tyranny drove divers worthy men hither. *But, I thank God, there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years;* for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government. God keep from both!

MARYLAND

The founding of Maryland marks the beginning of a new plan in colony building in North America. The tentative experiments of Gilbert and Raleigh had for their object mainly the establishing of trading posts, from which a search for gold and for a northwest passage to the Indies might be carried on.⁸⁶ Close upon these followed the founding of the earliest permanent colonies by chartered companies, the chief objects being to bring commercial advantage to the companies, and to make good by actual occupation English claims to the soil. With the founding of Maryland came the first permanent proprietary government of America, that is, a government by a lord proprietor, who, holding his authority by virtue of a royal charter, nevertheless exercised that authority almost as an independent sovereign.

As shown on a preceding page, the idea of colony planting in America by means of a corporation was borrowed from existing corporations common in England at the time. It is interesting here to note the proprietary form of government,—its origin, the transplanting of the institution to America, and its gradual democratizing. It is well known that the Maryland charter was borrowed in great part from the Palatinate of Durham; but this needs a word of explana-

⁸⁶ See also other motives mentioned on p. 78.

tion. In mediæval times it was customary in Continental Europe for a sovereign to grant almost regal powers of government to the feudal lords of his border districts, so as to prevent foreign invasion. These districts or manors were often called palatinates or counties palatine, because the lord dwelled in a palace, or wielded the power of the king in his palace. His power was regal in kind, but inferior in degree to that of the king.⁸⁷ William the Conqueror, soon after the battle of Hastings, adopted this plan in case of a few counties, one of which was Durham on the borders of Scotland, and this one alone remained at the time of Charles I. The English landlord was as familiar with the palatinate form of government, as Osgood says, as was the English merchant with the corporation. It was most natural, therefore, that the proprietary form of government be adopted in the work of colonizing America, and it was equally natural that the palatine of Durham be made the model.

The charter of Maryland granted in express terms "as ample rights, jurisdictions, privileges, prerogatives, . . . royal rights . . . as used and enjoyed . . . within the bishopric or county palatine of Durham." This was one of the many instances of planting English institutions in America; it was an attempt to introduce a limited feudalism on American soil. And it is a notable fact that all the English colonies founded in America after Maryland were of the palatinate type, except those founded spontaneously by the people in New England.⁸⁸

It will be noticed that this form of government was monarchical; but monarchical government did not flourish in America. In a new country where all men were obliged to

⁸⁷ Osgood, in *American Historical Review*, July, 1897, p. 644.

⁸⁸ Fiske, "Old Virginia," Vol. I, p. 280.

work for a living the conditions for building up an order of nobility were wanting. The great distance from the motherland tended to lessen the feeling of reverence for the sovereign, and men soon absorbed that wild spirit of freedom so characteristic of life in the forest. The result was that democracy gained an early foothold in every colony, and it continued to increase in power all through the colonial period.

The father of Maryland was George Calvert, the actual founder was his son, Cecilius Calvert. George Calvert was a man of broad views and stanch character. About the time of the accession to the throne of Charles I, Calvert resigned his seat as British secretary of state and turned his attention to colonization in the New World. King James had raised him to an Irish peerage with the title of Lord Baltimore. Receiving a grant of land in Newfoundland, which he named Avalon, he removed thither and planted a colony; but after a brief sojourn he determined, owing to the severity of the climate and the hostility of the French, to abandon the place. He sailed for Virginia, in which he had already been interested as a member of the original London Company and later of the governing council. But Baltimore, having espoused the Roman Catholic faith, found the Virginians inhospitable, owing to the spirit of religious intolerance of the times. Returning to England he obtained the promise of a charter for a large tract of land north of the Potomac River, and King Charles in granting it named the place Maryland in honor of his queen, Henrietta Maria. The object of the lord proprietor, as Baltimore was now called, was twofold. He wished to found a state and become its ruler, for he was truly a man of the world; he loved power and he loved wealth. Second, he wished to furnish a refuge

for the oppressed of his own faith; for the Roman Catholics, as well as the Puritans, were objects of persecution in England.

But before he could carry his purpose into execution, and before the Great Seal was placed upon his charter, George Calvert died. The charter was then issued to his son, Cecilius, and the son, who became the second Lord Baltimore, was faithful in carrying out the project of his father.

The new colony as set forth in the charter was bounded on the north by the fortieth parallel, and on the south by the southern bank of the Potomac, while the western boundary was to be the meridian passing through the source of that river. From this line the colony extended eastward to the Atlantic Ocean and included all of the present state of Delaware and portions of Pennsylvania and West Virginia. In after years these boundary lines, as marked out by the charter, led to serious complications between Maryland and her neighbors.

Never before had an English sovereign conferred such power upon a subject as that now granted to Lord Baltimore. He was required by the charter to send the king two Indian arrows each year, as a token of allegiance to the Crown, and if any gold and silver were mined in Maryland, one-fifth of it was to be paid to the king. But aside from this the proprietor was invested with almost kingly power. He could not tax his people without their consent, but he could coin money, make war and peace, pardon criminals, establish courts, and grant titles of nobility. The government of the colony was very similar to that of the feudal estates of the Middle Ages.

But this "miniature kingdom of a semi-feudal type" was affected by the leaven of democracy from the beginning. The

charter, as stated, defined the relations of the proprietor to the king; it also defined his relations to the colonists. It provided that the laws be made by the proprietor *and the freemen*. Here was the entering wedge; the people could not be taxed without their own consent, and they were soon making their own laws. They won the right to initiate legislation in their first contest, a slight one, in 1635. At first the assembly consisted of the governor, council, and all the freemen; but as the people increased in numbers, the proxy system supplanted this. The proxy system, however, proved unsatisfactory and it soon gave way to the delegate system. By the middle of the century both the representative system and a bicameral legislature were firmly established in Maryland.⁸⁹

Aside from the fact that Maryland was the first of the proprietary governments, the colony is especially remembered in American history as the first in which religious toleration had a place. This condition came about in the most natural way. Baltimore, as an honest adherent of the Catholic faith, could not have excluded his fellow-Catholics from his new dominions. Such a course would have proved him untrue to his own avowed principles, and defeated one of his objects in founding the colony; namely, to furnish a home for oppressed Catholics who were shamefully treated in England at that time.

It was equally impossible for him to have excluded Protestants, being the subject of a Protestant king who ruled over a Protestant nation. Had he done this, he would have raised a storm in England which would have proved fatal to the colony. He did therefore the only wise thing to be done,—he left the matter open, inviting Catholics and Prot-

⁸⁹ Mereness's "Maryland," p. 196.

estants alike to join his colony. The spirit of the age was an intolerant spirit, and while Baltimore cannot be said to have been moved by any advanced views of religious toleration, nor was his primary object in founding a colony a desire to furnish a home for the oppressed in conscience, it is certain that he rose above the intolerance of the times, as shown by his subsequent invitation to the Puritans of Virginia and New England to make their home in Maryland. Thus for the first time in colonial history we have a state in which a man could worship God with freedom of conscience and without being oppressed by intolerant laws. Baltimore proved a wise and just governor. His treatment of the Indians was not surpassed by that of William Penn. Indeed, one might search in vain through all our colonial history for a ruler superior to Cecilius Calvert.

The first settlers, about three hundred in number, reached Maryland in March, 1634. Leonard Calvert, a brother of the proprietor, led the colony and became its first acting governor. They settled on a small island in the mouth of the Potomac, paying the Indians for the land in axes, hoes, and cloth. Here they planted the cross and founded a town which they named St. Mary's. The colony was happily founded, and it advanced more in the first six months than Virginia had done in as many years.

Maryland was singularly free from Indian massacres as also for many years from maladministration; but there was one source of constant irritation that annoyed the colony for a generation, and that was the jealousy of the Virginians. The second charter of Virginia had included all the territory that afterward became Maryland, and the people of Virginia disputed the right of Baltimore to plant this colony there; but their objections could not hold good from

the fact that the Virginia charter had been canceled in 1624 and the province had reverted to the Crown. But there were two other causes of an unfriendly feeling from the elder colony; first, her northern neighbor was under Catholic control and this was irritating to the intolerant Virginians; and second, Maryland enjoyed free trade in foreign markets which Virginia did not. This unfriendly spirit between the two reached its acute stage through the action of one man, whose name fills a conspicuous page in the early history of Maryland, and that man was William Clayborne.

Clayborne was a Virginia surveyor, a member of the council and also a tradesman. The year before the charter of Maryland was issued to Calvert, Clayborne had established a trading post on Kent Island in the Chesapeake without any title to the land. Soon after the settlement at St. Mary's had been made Baltimore informed Clayborne that Kent Island must henceforth be under the government of Maryland; but the latter, encouraged by the governor of Virginia, resisted, whereupon Baltimore ordered that he be arrested and held prisoner if he did not yield. Soon after this a party from St. Mary's seized a pinnace belonging to Clayborne, who, retaliating, sent a vessel against his enemy, and in a skirmish, in which several men were killed, the Marylanders made captives of the Virginians. This occurred in 1635 and two years later Clayborne repaired to England to lay his case before the king. He met with little success and during his absence the enemy seized and occupied Kent Island. Clayborne returned to Virginia and for more than ten years longer we find him a disturbing element to the peace of Maryland. In 1645, aided by a piratical sea captain named Ingle, he again gained control of his favorite island and indeed of the government of Maryland, Leonard

Calvert being forced to take refuge in Virginia. But Clayborne's reign was of short duration, and the coveted island eventually passed permanently under the control of Maryland.

In spite of internal disturbance the colony increased in numbers and prosperity year by year. The political and social condition of the people swayed to and fro with the great events that were taking place in England, and when at last the Puritan party under Cromwell triumphed over the Cavaliers, Baltimore, who had favored the royal party, would doubtless have lost his title to Maryland but for the tact he exercised in appointing a Protestant governor, William Stone, to rule over it.

The year 1649—that eventful year in British history in which King Charles I was put to death—witnessed the famous Toleration Act in Maryland. By this act the toleration of all Christian sects—a privilege that the people had enjoyed in practice since the founding of the colony—was recognized by law.⁹⁰

The Toleration Act was very liberal for that period, but it would not be so considered in our times. For example, it did not “tolerate” one who did not believe in the Trinity, the penalty for this offense being death. Any one speaking reproachfully concerning the Virgin Mary or any of the Apostles or Evangelists was to be punished by a fine, or, in default of payment, by a public whipping and imprisonment. The calling of any one a heretic, Puritan, Independent, Popish priest, Baptist, Lutheran, Calvinist, and the like, in a “reproachful manner,” was punished by a light fine, half

⁹⁰ Except Unitarians; not till 1826—one hundred and seventy-seven years after this—did Jews and Unitarians gain full political rights in Maryland.

of which was to be paid to the person or persons offended, or by a public whipping and imprisonment until apology be made to the offended. This act was drawn up under the directions of Cecilius Calvert himself; it was probably a compromise between the Catholic party and the Puritans, who, driven from Virginia by Berkeley, had arrived in Maryland in large numbers. This was the first law of its kind enacted in America, and it was in force, with brief intervals of suspension, for many years.

On the fall of Charles I a commission sent by Parliament, a member of which was Maryland's old enemy, Clayborne, came to receive the surrender of the colony, and Governor Stone, who though a Protestant was not a Puritan, was degraded from his office. This was in 1652 and three years later Stone, having raised a small army, met the Puritans at Providence, now Annapolis, and a pitched battle was fought, known as the battle of the Severn. Many were killed. Stone was defeated and made prisoner. The Puritans now had full control. Before this battle occurred they had suspended the Toleration Act in defiance of the proprietor and passed one of their own shutting out "popery, prelacy, and licentiousness of opinion." Baptists and Quakers, as well as Catholics and Episcopalians, were denied religious liberty. As Fiske puts it, they tolerated "everybody except Catholics, Episcopalians, and anybody else who disagreed with them." But this was going too far, even for Oliver Cromwell, who sided with Calvert; and at the word of that powerful dictator the Toleration Act was restored and the Puritan domination was ended.

In 1661, soon after the Restoration in England, Lord Baltimore sent his only son, Charles Calvert, to be governor of his colony. Charles was an excellent governor. He

served fourteen years, when in 1675 his father, Cecilius, died and he became the lord proprietor.⁹¹ For the first time now the Marylanders had the proprietor living among them. Cecilius, the founder of the colony and its proprietor for over forty years, devoted his life to Maryland; but he resided in London and never crossed the Atlantic Ocean.

This period, from the Restoration to the English Revolution in 1688, was one of unusual quiet in Maryland. It is true that the people were on the verge of rebellion in 1676—an echo of the Bacon Rebellion in Virginia—and that the government after the death of Cecilius was for a time similar to that of Berkeley in Virginia, tending toward aristocracy and nepotism; restriction of the suffrage, and the like; but on the whole the inhabitants were happy and industrious and were rapidly increasing in numbers. During this time the Quakers, the Dutch, the Germans, and the Huguenots were in considerable numbers finding their way to Maryland.

Meantime the boundary dispute between Maryland and Pennsylvania, to cover over three quarters of a century, had begun. This will be treated in the account of Pennsylvania. Charles II and his brother James, disregarding the grant of their father to Lord Baltimore, conveyed to William Penn a large portion of his territory, which afterwards became Delaware; and James, after he became king, was about to deprive Baltimore of his charter altogether when, in 1688, he was driven from the British throne, in what is known as the glorious Revolution. William and Mary became the sovereigns of England, and Baltimore promptly dispatched a messenger to proclaim to his colony their accession to the throne. But the messenger died at sea, the message was

⁹¹ The population at this time was about twenty-five thousand.

not delivered, and while the other colonies in quick succession proclaimed the new sovereigns, Maryland hesitated. The delay was fatal to Baltimore's charter, and in 1691 Maryland became a royal province. Baltimore, however, was still permitted to receive the revenues in the form of quitrents and excises from his sometime colony. Maryland remained a royal colony till 1715, when it passed back into the hands of the Calverts. The royal governors, among whom we find the ubiquitous Nicholson and Andros, were all men of commendable worth.

When Maryland became a royal colony one of the first acts of its legislature was to pass a law establishing the Church of England²² and persecuting the Catholics and to some extent the Puritans. Alas, for the dreams of the Calverts! They had founded the colony as an asylum for the oppressed in conscience, especially for those of their own faith; but now in less than sixty years after its founding the Catholics constitute but one twelfth of the population and these, though among the best citizens of Maryland, are rigorously proscribed by law; and to further exasperate them the capital was now moved from St. Mary's, the Catholic center, to Providence, *alias* "Anne Arundel Town," now Annapolis.

In 1715 Charles Calvert died and his son Benedict became the fourth Lord Baltimore. He had become a Protestant, and the government of Maryland was now restored to him. The colony remained from this time in the hands of

²² The annual tax for the support of the church was forty pounds of tobacco for each "poll," rich or poor. But the law did not specify the kind of tobacco, and many paid the minister with the most unsalable stuff they raised. The clergy sent over were generally a bad lot, gamblers and winebibbers. A common trick with them was to stop in the middle of a marriage service and exact a good round fee before finishing the ceremony.



1599—OLIVER CROMWELL—1658.

From a miniature in the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Mass.



the Calverts to the war of the Revolution. Benedict died but six weeks after the death of his father, and his son Charles, a boy of sixteen years, became the proprietor of Maryland.⁹² During the remainder of the colonial era frequent quarrels between the governor and the assembly resulted, as in all the royal and proprietary colonies, in a steady gain of power for the people.

It would be interesting to follow the fortunes of this colony through the half century preceding the Revolution, the so-called "neglected period" of colonial history; but the limits of this volume forbid a further treatment, except in a general way with the rest in future chapters on "Colonial Wars" and "Colonial Life."

NORTH CAROLINA

North Carolina came near being the first permanent English colony in America. Five voyages were made under the Raleigh charter of 1584 with the view of planting a permanent colony on the soil that became North Carolina; but the effort ended in failure, and almost a century passed, when other hands carried into effect the noble ambition of Raleigh. Again, the people who founded Virginia had intended to settle in the vicinity of Roanoke Island, but a storm changed their course, and the first colony was planted in the valley of the James.

The first settlements in North Carolina that were destined to live were made by Virginians, in 1653, on the banks of the Chowan and Roanoke rivers, in a district called Albemarle from the Duke of Albemarle. A few years later men from New England made a settlement, which they soon

⁹² The population was now 40,700 whites and 9,500 negroes. Chalmers, "American Colonies," II, 7.

abandoned, on the Cape Fear River. In 1665 Sir John Yeamans, an English nobleman of broken fortunes, came from the Barbados with a company of planters and joined the few New Englanders who had remained on the Cape Fear River. This district was called Clarendon. Meantime Charles II had issued a charter, in 1663, granting to eight of his favorites the vast territory ⁸⁴ south of Virginia, and two years later the charter was enlarged and the boundaries defined and made to extend from twenty-nine degrees north latitude to thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, the southern boundary of Virginia, and from the Atlantic Ocean on the east to the "South Sea," or Pacific Ocean, on the west. The grant embraced nearly all the southern portion of the present United States, and the government it created was, like that of Maryland, modeled after the palatinate of Durham. Of the eight men to whom the grant was made the leading spirit was Lord Ashley Cooper,⁸⁵ afterward the Earl of Shaftesbury, whose name is still borne by the Ashley and Cooper rivers of South Carolina.

The new country had been named Carolina a hundred years before by Ribault, the Huguenot, in honor of Charles IX of France,⁸⁶ and the name was now retained in honor of Charles II of England.

An account of the first attempt to govern this colony fills a curious page in American history. Shaftesbury, who was

⁸⁴ A charter for the same tract had been granted to Sir Robert Heath in 1629, but this had lapsed for want of use. It was repealed in 1664.

⁸⁵ The other seven were the Earl of Clarendon, the Duke of Albemarle, Lord Craven, Lord John Berkeley, Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkeley, and Sir John Colleton.

⁸⁶ It is claimed by some that the name Carolina was not used by Ribault; but it is known to have been used when Charles I was king of England.

unmatched as a theoretical politician, conceived a plan of government that seems ludicrous to the American reader of to-day. The plan was supposed to have been drawn up by John Locke, the philosopher, and was known as the Fundamental Constitutions, or the "Grand Model,"¹ which proved to be grand only as a grand failure and a model only to be shunned by the liberty-loving American of the future. By this plan the essence of monarchy, of aristocratic rule in the extreme, was to be transplanted to America: It divided the land into counties, and for each county there was to be an earl and two barons who should own one fifth of the land while the proprietors retained another fifth. The remaining three fifths were reserved for the people as tenants, who were to be practically reduced to serfdom and denied the right of self-government. Its one good feature was its guarantee of religious liberty, though the Church of England was established by law.

But the settlers in North Carolina had found even the colonial governments too oppressive and had migrated deeper into the wilderness for the purpose of gaining a larger amount of freedom. Could they now accept such a government as proposed by Shaftesbury? Certainly not willingly; nor was it possible to enforce it, and after twenty odd years of futile attempts to do so the whole plan was abandoned.

Sir William Berkeley, one of the proprietors and governor of Virginia, had appointed as governor of Albemarle, the northern portion of Carolina, William Drummond, a Scotch Presbyterian clergyman, whom he afterward put to death for following Bacon. Samuel Stephens, succeeding Drum-

¹ This singular document is given in full in Ben: Perley Poore's "Charters and Constitutions."

mond in 1667, called an assembly to frame laws and ere long the settlement was in a steadily growing condition. A law was passed with a view of attracting settlers. It exempted all newcomers from paying taxes for a year, outlawed any debts they may have contracted elsewhere, and provided that for five years no one could be sued for any cause that might have arisen outside the colony. This plan had the effect of attracting many of a worthless class, so that the Albemarle settlement came to be known in Virginia as "Rogues' Harbor." Governor Stephens and his successor made strenuous but fruitless efforts to put the Fundamental Constitutions in force.

The Navigation Laws were later put into operation, and they greatly interfered with a lucrative trade with New England. The people were heavily taxed and at length, in 1678, they broke out in an insurrection led by John Culpeper, who seized the government and held it for two years. This followed in the train of the Bacon Rebellion in Virginia.

The proprietors next sent Seth Sothel, now a member of the company, to govern the colony. Sothel proved to be a knave; he plundered the proprietors and the people most shamelessly, and after five years of turbulent misrule he was driven into exile—the same year that witnessed the Revolution in England and the exile of James II.

Owing to incompetent and thieving governors, appointed through favoritism and not fitness for the office, and to abortive attempts to introduce the Fundamental Constitutions on an unwilling people, the Albemarle colony did not prosper, and in 1693 the population was but half what it had been fifteen years before, while the Clarendon colony planted by Yeamans on the Cape Fear had been wholly abandoned.

Meantime another colony had been planted at the mouths of the Ashley and Cooper rivers (as will be noticed under South Carolina). These two surviving colonies, several hundred miles apart, now began to be called North and South Carolina. Their governments were combined into one, and better times were now at hand. In 1695 John Archdale, a good Quaker, became governor of both Carolinas, and from this time the settlements were much more prosperous than before.

After 1704, however, North Carolina was again in turmoil, the causes being bad governors and continued attempts to establish the Church of England at the expense of the Dissenters, more than half of whom were Quakers. During the first decade of the eighteenth century, settlers came in increased numbers. Huguenots came from France and settled at Bath near Pamlico Sound; Germans from the Rhine founded New Berne at the junction of the Trent and Neuse rivers. The white population was now about five thousand; Albemarle settlement had extended many miles into the forest; this involved encroachment on the soil of the native red man—and it brought its troubles.

In the autumn of 1711 a terrible Indian massacre took place in North Carolina. Hundreds of settlers fell victims of the merciless tomahawk. The chief sufferers were the inoffensive Germans at New Berne, where a hundred and thirty people were slaughtered within two hours after the signal for the massacre was given.⁹⁸ Various tribes, led by the Tuscaroras, engaged in the massacre. But the people rallied, and, receiving aid from South Carolina, they, led by Colonels John Barnwell and James Moore, hunted the red men from place to place and in a great battle near the Neuse

⁹⁸ Fiske, "Old Virginia," Vol. II, p. 302.

destroyed four hundred of their warriors. At length the Tuscaroras, whose ancestors had come from New York, resolved to abandon their southern home and return to the land of their fathers. They removed in 1714 and joined the Iroquois or Five Nations of New York, and that confederation was afterward known as the Six Nations.

The people of North Carolina were, in the main, honest and well meaning, and, when not goaded by profligate rulers and unjust laws, quiet and peaceable. It is true there were many who had fled from other colonies to escape debts or the hand of the law; but a large portion of society was composed of sturdy, Christian men and women. Religion soon found a footing here as in the other colonies, though there was no resident clergyman in the colony before 1703. The Church of England was supported by taxation, but the Dissenters were in the majority. The Quakers especially became numerous, George Fox himself, the founder of the sect, having visited the place and made many converts.

In 1714 the lords proprietors sent out Charles Eden for governor, and he was the best and ablest governor the colony ever had. But on his death, eight years later, the colony again fell into unworthy hands. A period of great turbulence followed, when, in 1729, all the proprietors save one having sold their interests to the Crown, North Carolina and South Carolina were separated and each was henceforth a royal colony.**

Of the royal governors sent out after this date several were tyrannical or worthless; but the people increased rapidly in numbers. There was for many years a steady in-

** The price paid was about £50,000. Carteret had declined to sell. He was later granted for his share a strip of land just south of Virginia, sixty-six miles wide "from sea to sea."

flow of Germans from the Rhine by way of Pennsylvania, and, beginning about 1719, a still larger stream of Scotch-Irish from Ulster. During the first sixty-six years—the entire proprietary period—the people of North Carolina clung to the seaboard. But now the eastern slope of the Alleghanies was rapidly peopled, chiefly by Scotch-Irish and Germans, with a large sprinkling of shiftless “poor whites” from Virginia. The settlement of the region of the “back counties” had little connection with those of an earlier date on the coast, and the colony was practically divided into two distinct settlements with a broad belt of forest between them. The conditions of life were very different in the two. The back country was non-slaveholding, and the economic conditions were very similar to those of the northern colonies; while the coast settlements were slaveholding and were marked by all the characteristics of southern life, except the aristocratic feature.

The products of the colony were at first tobacco along the Virginia border, rice on the Cape Fear River, and grain, cattle, and especially swine in both these sections. But at length the great pine forests began to yield their wealth, and before the Revolution tar, turpentine, and lumber became the chief products of North Carolina.

Of all the thirteen colonies North Carolina was the least commercial, the most provincial, the farthest removed from European influences, and its wild forest life the most unrestrained. Every colony had its frontier, its borderland between civilization and savagery; but North Carolina was composed entirely of frontier. The people were impatient of legal restraints and averse to paying taxes; but their moral and religious standard was not below that of other colonies. Their freedom was the freedom of the Indian, or

of the wild animal, not that of the criminal and the outlaw. Here truly was life in the primeval forest, at the core of Nature's heart. There were no cities, scarcely villages. The people were farmers or woodmen; they lived apart, scattered through the wilderness; their highways were the rivers and bays, and their homes were connected by narrow trails winding among the trees. Yet the people were happy in their freedom and contented with their lonely isolation.

SOUTH CAROLINA

North Carolina and South Carolina were twin-born. Though settled at different times by different peoples, both were included in the famous charter of 1663, both were intended to be governed by the Grand Model, and as they were not separated politically until 1729, their histories run parallel for many years, and much that we have said of the one will apply to her twin sister to the south.¹⁰⁰

It was the shores of South Carolina that Ribault, under the direction of the great Coligny, had attempted to settle with a colony of Frenchmen, but failed, and now, after a hundred years had passed, it was left for the English to lay the permanent foundations for a commonwealth. The first English settlement was made in 1670, when William Sayle sailed up the Ashley River with three shiploads of English emigrants from the Barbados, and they pitched their tents on its banks and built a town, which has since wholly disappeared. In 1671 Sir John Yeamans, whom we have met in North Carolina, joined the colony, bringing with him about two hundred African slaves, and ere this year had closed two ships bearing Dutch emigrants arrived from New York.

¹⁰⁰ The original plan was to found but one colony. The terms North and South Carolina first began to be used about 1690.

Ten years after the first settlers arrived, a more favorable site for the chief town being desired, a point between the Cooper and Ashley rivers was chosen, and here Charleston was founded in 1680.

South Carolina differs from most of the colonies in not having had to battle against impending dissolution during its first years of existence, and from all the others in depending on slave labor from the beginning.

Popular government found a footing in South Carolina from the first. Scarcely had the first immigrants landed when a popular assembly began to frame laws on the basis of liberty. Sayle was their leader and first governor, but he soon died and was succeeded by Yeamans, who ruled for four years, when he was dismissed for having enriched himself at the expense of the people. Yeamans was followed by John West, an able and honorable man, who held the office for nine years. In 1690 the notorious Sothel, who had been driven from North Carolina, came to South Carolina, usurped the government, and began his career of plunder; but the people soon rose against him and he was forced to flee. After this several of the governors were common to both North and South Carolina.

No attempt was made during the early years of the colony to introduce the Fundamental Constitutions; but when, about 1687, a vigorous effort was made to do so, the people resisted it, basing their rights on the clause in the charter which conferred the right of making laws on the proprietors only "by and with the advice, assent, and approbation of the freemen." The people were determined in their resistance; they refused to be trampled by the heel of tyranny; their very breath had been the pure air of liberty. The contest covered several years, and the people won. That abortive

"model" of government was at last set aside and no attempt was ever again made to enforce it in America.¹⁰¹

Prosperity now began to dawn on the twin colonies as it had not done before. About this time came the wise Archdale as governor, and he was followed by Joseph Blake, a man of like integrity and wisdom, a nephew of the great admiral of that name. The close of the century was marked by the coming of the Huguenots to South Carolina. In 1598 the sovereign of France, "King Henry of Navarre," had issued the "Edict of Nantes," granting toleration to the Protestants or Huguenots of his kingdom. This edict was revoked in 1685 by Louis XIV, and the Huguenots were not only forbidden to worship God in their own way, but also forbidden to leave their country on pain of death. Many, however, probably half a million, escaped from the land of their cruel king and settled in various parts of the world. They were a noble and intelligent people, who "had the virtues of the English Puritans without their bigotry," and their coming to America infused into colonial life another element of stanchness of character that was felt all through colonial days. Among their descendants we find such men as Paul Revere, Peter Faneuil, and John Jay. These people were at first coldly received on the shores of South Carolina, but in time they came to be regarded as a substantial portion of the population. It was Governor Blake that first recognized the worth of the Huguenot immigrants, and he secured for them full political rights.

Governor Blake died in 1700, and South Carolina en-

¹⁰¹ Except in 1698 when a fifth set of the Constitutions was drawn up and the proprietors instructed the governors to enforce it as far as they were able, but they had little success. MacDonald's "Documents," p. 150.

tered upon a long season of turbulence and strife. Sir Nathaniel Johnson became governor in 1703, and the trouble began. His first act was to have a law passed by sharp practice excluding all Dissenters, who composed two thirds of the population, from the assembly. The people discovered the trick, and the next assembly voted by a large majority to repeal the law. But Johnson refused to sign their act. The assembly then appealed to the proprietors, but they sustained the bigoted governor. The people then appealed to the House of Lords and won their case, as they always will when they stand together. The proprietors yielded when the act of their governor met a royal veto from Queen Anne and when threatened with the loss of their charter, and the Dissenters were restored to their share in the government. The Church of England, however, was made the state church and so it continued to the time of the Revolution. The colony was divided into parishes, which became political, as well as ecclesiastical, divisions.

Hard upon this trouble followed an attack by a French and Spanish fleet of five ships and some eight hundred men upon Charleston; but the colonists were awake to their danger. They defended their city, and the fleet was driven away after losing its best ship and probably one third of its men. This was an echo of the war of the Spanish Succession, or Queen Anne's War, to be noticed in a later chapter.

The most distressing calamity that befell South Carolina in its youth was the Indian War of 1715. The Yamassee tribe, which had aided the whites against the Tuscaroras in North Carolina, now joined with other tribes and turned upon their former friends, and a disastrous war followed. The cause was chiefly an intrigue with the Spaniards of St. Augustine, who, in spite of the Treaty of Utrecht, by which

the long war between Spain and England had come to an end, did all in their power to destroy the English settlement. Another cause was that many Indians were indebted to the English traders, and they sought to avoid payment, and still another was that the remembrance still rankled in the red man's breast that many of his race had been kidnapped by the whites and sold into slavery. The war began in the usual way: the Indians fell upon the unsuspecting farmers with relentless fury, and nearly a hundred perished the first day. But the settlers were quick to fly to arms. The war lasted ten months. Four hundred whites perished; but the Indians were utterly defeated and the survivors driven from their homes into Florida. To meet the heavy expenses of the war the assembly issued bills of credit, or paper money, as North Carolina had done after its Indian war, and this brought further distress to the colony. At the time of this war Charles Craven was governor and he was one of the wisest and ablest governors of the period.

Another convulsion, ending in a bloodless revolution, came next in the programme of South Carolina. The cost of the war had been so great that the people called upon the lords proprietors, who had derived a large income from the colony in quitrents, to aid in bearing the expenses. But the proprietors in their greed refused, and they refused to permit the assembly to raise money by import duties, or by selling vacated Yamassee lands. They also refused the rural freemen the right to vote in their own districts, requiring them to go to Charleston to vote. The people were exasperated; they rose in rebellion and appealed to the king to make South Carolina a royal province. Their request was granted; the charter was forfeited on the ground that the



PROSPECT OF CHARLESTOWN, S.C.

By B. Roberts, 1739.

From a print in the Lenox Library, New York.



proprieters were unable to govern the colony, and in 1719 South Carolina became a royal colony; but, as related in our account of North Carolina, ten years yet elapsed before the proprietors sold out to the Crown and the two colonies were separated. The king first sent out the professional governor, Francis Nicholson, of New York, of Virginia, of Maryland. But we would cast no reflection on Nicholson; he was one of the best governors of the colonial era. Where others enriched themselves at the expense of the people, he reached into his own pocket for funds to foster education and to relieve the distressed.

From the time that South Carolina became a royal province its growth was rapid and substantial, and so it continued through the remaining half century of the colonial era. But the people did not show any great surfeit of gratitude to the king for relieving them of proprietary rule. They contended with the royal governors, encroaching steadily on the royal power. In 1748 Governor Glen wrote the authorities in England that "the assembly disposed of almost all the places of office or trust," and the people, through the assembly, "had the whole of the administration in their hands, and the governor, and thereby the Crown, is stripped of its power."¹⁰²

In 1740 the colony suffered from a slave insurrection led by one Cato, but it was soon put down. The city of Charleston was burned this same year; but a new city, far more beautiful, rose from the ashes of the old. Indeed, Charleston was one of the most delightful of cities, even in the earlier times, as testified by Governor Archdale and other writers. The society resembled the cavalier society in Eng-

¹⁰² Winsor, Vol. V, p. 334.

land. "Hospitality, refinement, and literary culture distinguished the higher class of gentlemen."¹⁰³

The earliest important product of South Carolina was rice, though it required a hundred years to bring the industry to perfection; to determine the best kind of soil and labor, and to invent the machinery for harvesting, threshing, and husking.¹⁰⁴ Wild rice was native in the South, but this was inferior to the cultivated rice introduced from Madagascar about 1693 by a sea captain, who gave a bag of seed to a South Carolina planter. Not many years passed till the Carolinas rivaled Egypt and Lombardy in furnishing rice for Southern Europe.

By the middle of the eighteenth century indigo became a strong rival of rice in South Carolina. Its culture is said to have begun through the experiments of a planter's daughter, a young girl named Eliza Lucas, who set out the plants on her father's farm. Many other products, as grain, furs, cattle, and the products of the forest, were exported from South Carolina, but not until a later generation was cotton enthroned as king.

Rice grows best in marshy ground and swamps, and its cultivation is peculiarly destructive to human life. The same is in a great measure true of indigo. These facts had much to do in shaping the economic and social condition of South Carolina. They made it the chief slaveholding community in America. No white man could long endure the malarial atmosphere of the rice swamps. Even among the blacks the death rate was very high, and their ranks had to be refilled constantly from Africa. But slaves were cheap.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 317.

¹⁰⁴ Schaper, in American Historical Association Reports, 1900, Vol. I, p. 286.

A strong black man could be purchased for forty pounds and as he could earn near that amount in a year, the planter found it more profitable to work him to death than to take care of him.¹⁰⁸ Almost from the beginning the slaves in South Carolina outnumbered the whites; slavery became the cornerstone in the political system and so it continued to the time of the Civil War.

The people of South Carolina clung to the seaboard even longer than did those of their sister colony to the north. In 1715 some five hundred Irish came and occupied lands vacated by the Yamassees near Port Royal. But the back country was held by the Cherokees until 1755, when they made a treaty ceding this territory to the Crown. Soon after this a notable movement of the population began. Emigrants from Pennsylvania, from Virginia, and from North Carolina poured into this region in large numbers. The population in 1760 was estimated at one hundred and fifty thousand, three fourths of whom were slaves.

The character of society in the two Carolinas, except the back counties, differed widely, from two causes: first, from a difference in the character of the settlers, but chiefly from the fact that one possessed a seaport, a metropolis, while the other did not. Many of the South Carolinians were men who had fled from religious persecution at home, as the Huguenots; while the class of restless men who always seek frontier life, because ill at ease in organized society, was much smaller in North Carolina. But, as stated, the main difference arose from the fact that North Carolina had no important seaport, and therefore little direct communication with Europe or New England. Charleston, on the other hand, through its commodious harbor, carried on a brisk

¹⁰⁸ Fiske's "Old Virginia," Vol. II, p. 326.

foreign trade. Here came ships from many lands—from Europe, the West Indies, and from New England—bringing the commodities and luxuries of civilized life. Here lived the wealthy planter, visiting but seldom his plantation where herds of black men toiled under the lash of the overseer. Most naturally the conditions in Charleston fostered the growth of aristocracy, while in culture and refinement the city came to rival Philadelphia and Boston.

GEORGIA

The last, as well as the first, of the English colonies planted in North America belongs to the southern group. Seventy-five years had elapsed between the founding of Virginia and Pennsylvania, and twelve English colonies were now flourishing on the soil of North America. Then came a lapse of fifty years at the end of which Georgia, the last of the famous thirteen, came into existence.

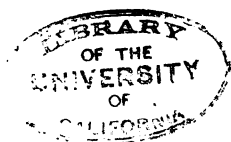
The founder of Georgia was James Oglethorpe, who alone of all the colony planters lived till after the Revolution and saw the thirteen colonies become an independent nation. Oglethorpe is remembered in history chiefly as the founder of Georgia, but aside from this he was a man of much prominence. While still a youth he served in the European wars under Marlborough and Prince Eugene and witnessed the battle of Blenheim and the siege of Belgrade. Returning to England, he became a member of Parliament and took a high stand among his fellows, as he had done in the army. While in Parliament his attention was drawn to the miserable condition of the debtor's prisons, lately replenished by the bursting of the South Sea Bubble, and he devised the plan to transplant the unfortunate inmates to the wilderness of America.



1696—JAMES EDWARD OGLETHORPE—1785.

By SAMUEL IRELAND, 1785.

From an original etching in possession of Chief Justice Mitchell, Philadelphia, Pa.



A charter was granted for twenty-one years to a board of trustees for the land between the Savannah and Altamaha rivers and westward to the "South Sea." The new country was named Georgia, from George II who had granted the charter. The liberties of Englishmen were guaranteed to the colonists, and freedom in religion to all except Catholics. The object in founding the colony was three-fold: to afford an opportunity to the unfortunate poor to begin life over again, to offer a refuge to persecuted Protestants of Europe, and to erect a military barrier between the Carolinas and Spanish Florida. Oglethorpe was chosen governor and with thirty-five families he sailed from England, reaching the mouth of the Savannah in the spring of 1733, and here on a bluff overlooking the river and the sea he founded a city and called it by the name of the river. The character of Oglethorpe's company was better than that of the men who had founded Jamestown a hundred and twenty-five years before, but inferior to the character of the first settlers of Maryland or of South Carolina. The year after the founding of Savannah a shipload of Salzburgers, Protestant refugees, a deeply religious people, sailed into the mouth of the Savannah and, led by Oglethorpe, they founded the town of Ebenezer. This same year the governor sailed for England and soon returned with more immigrants, among whom were John Wesley, the great founder of Methodism, who came as a missionary, and his brother Charles, who came as secretary to Oglethorpe. Scotch Highlanders soon came in considerable numbers and settled nearest the Spanish border. George Whitfield, the most eloquent preacher of his times, also came to Georgia and founded an orphan school in Savannah.

Georgia was the only colony of the thirteen that received

financial aid by a vote of Parliament—the only one in the planting of which the British government, as such, took a part. The colony differed from all others also in prohibiting slavery and the importation of intoxicating liquors. The settlers were to have their land free of rent for ten years, but they could take no part in the government. The trustees made all the laws; but this arrangement was not intended to be permanent; at the close of the proprietary period the colony was to pass to the control of the Crown.

Oglethorpe's military wisdom was soon apparent. In the war between England and Spain, beginning in 1739, the Spaniards became troublesome and the governor, this same year, made an expedition against St. Augustine with an army of over two thousand men, half of whom were Indians. The city was well fortified and he failed to capture it; but three years later when the Spaniards made an attack on the colony Oglethorpe, by the most skillful strategy, repulsed the enemy and drove him away.

Oglethorpe was governor of Georgia for twelve years, when he returned to England. In four respects the settlers were greatly dissatisfied. They wanted rum, they wanted slaves, they greatly desired to take a hand in their own government, and they were not content with the land system, which gave each settler but a small farm that must descend in the male line. In all these points the people won. On account of these restrictions the colony grew but slowly and at the end of eighteen years scarcely a thousand families had settled in Georgia. The people claimed that the prohibition of liquors drove the West India trade away from them and at length the prohibition was withdrawn. As to slavery, it still had its opponents—the Salzburgers, the Scotch Highlanders, the Wesley brothers. But the great majority fa-

vored its introduction on the plea that slave labor was necessary to the development of the colony. On this side we find the great preacher, Whitfield, who went so far as to purchase a plantation in South Carolina, stock it with slaves, and use the proceeds for his orphan house in Savannah. His claim was that the negroes were better off in slavery than in their native heathenism. Parliament finally relented and in 1749 Georgia became a slave colony; but only under strict laws for the humane treatment of slaves.

In the matter of governing without a voice from the people, the trustees found it as impracticable as the promoters of the Grand Model had done in the Carolinas. Before their twenty-one years had expired they threw the matter up in discouragement, and in 1752 Georgia became a royal colony. The people now elected an assembly and the king appointed the governor. The right to vote was extended to Protestant freemen, with certain property restrictions. But the colony in one respect showed itself still benighted, as were all its twelve sisters, by denying the franchise to Roman Catholics.

After this change of government Georgia grew very rapidly, and by the time of the Revolution numbered some fifty thousand souls, about half of whom were slaves. Georgia in its later career presents no striking features differing from those of the other southern colonies. The English church was made the state church, but religious freedom was extended to all Protestants. The chief products were rice, indigo, and lumber, and there was a very lucrative fur trade carried on with the Indians. It was believed at first that the production of silk would become the leading industry, as the mulberry tree, which furnishes the natural

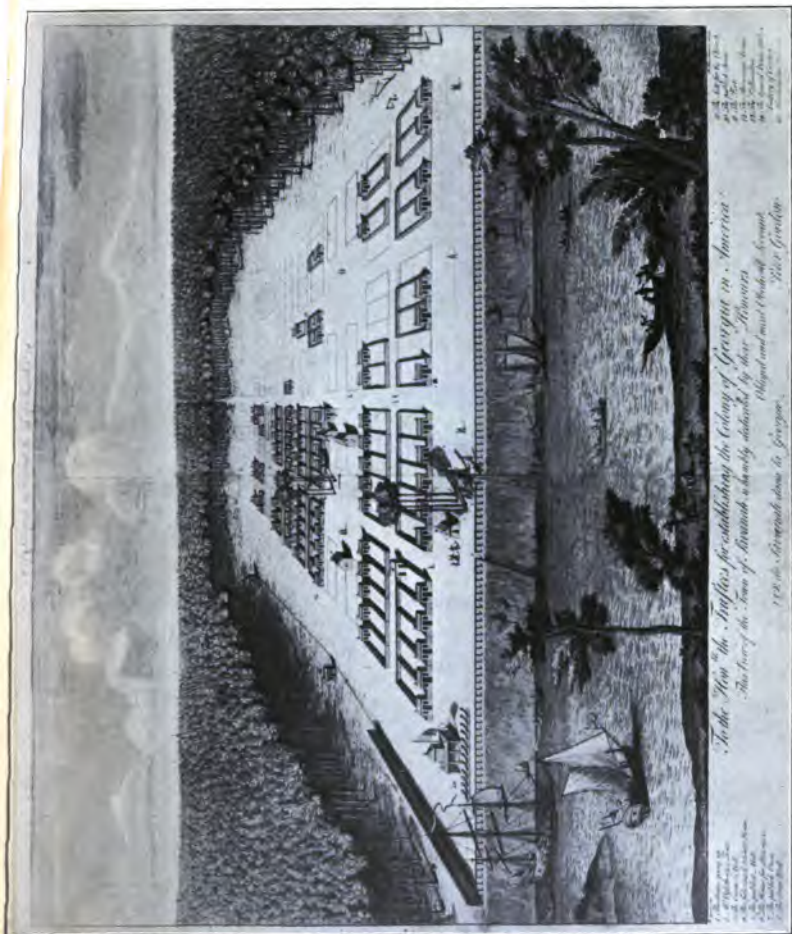
food of the silkworm, grew wild in Georgia; but after a trial of several years the business was abandoned.

The social condition of Georgia resembled that of North Carolina. There were no schools, and the mails seldom or never reached the inland settlements. The people were mostly small farmers, with here and there a rich planter. There was little town life. Savannah was the only town of importance, and it was still a wooden village at the time of the Revolution. The roads were mere Indian trails, and the settlers saw little of one another. To the end of the colonial era Georgia was essentially the southern frontier of South Carolina, as North Carolina was of Virginia.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ Fiske, Vol. II, p. 336.

NOTE

The Pirates.—In our own age of international order it is difficult to realize what sway was held on the seas by the pirates two hundred years ago. These pirates, called also buccaneers and filibusters, infested the American coast and the West Indies especially between 1650 and 1720 and they often numbered thousands. Many of these men were utterly without a redeeming feature of character. One of these fiends named Olonnois, having captured a Spanish crew of ninety men, beheaded them to the last man with his own hand. (Fiske, "Old Virginia," II, p. 349.) The most notorious and one of the most desperate of the pirates was Henry Morgan, who was at the height of his career about 1670. He captured whole towns on the Spanish-American coast and put the inhabitants to the sword. Many towns, however, purchased immunity from the buccaneers by paying them from time to time. Others welcomed them because they brought much gold and spent it lavishly. There was scarcely an American colony whose officials were not at one time or another in connivance with the pirates. But at the beginning of the eighteenth century there was a crusade against them. South Carolina took the lead and sometimes half a score were hanged in a day at Charleston. One of the most famous of the pirates was Captain William Kidd. The Earl of Bellomont, governor of Massachusetts, sent Kidd, hitherto an honest merchant, against the pirates in 1696. Reports soon came in that Kidd had turned pirate, and when



"A VIEW OF SAVANNAH AS IT STOOD THE 29TH OF MARCH, 1734."

BY PETER GORDON.



he returned to Boston he was arrested and sent to London for trial. Kidd claimed that his crew had overpowered him and become pirates against his consent. It is believed, however, that he was guilty; but his trial was a very unfair one, his conviction resting on the testimony of two of his pals, who had turned king's evidence. The charge of the judge was strongly against him. He was hanged in London in 1701.

—*Cyclopedia of American Biography.*

CHAPTER V

COLONIZATION—NEW ENGLAND

WHEN North America was first settled by the English race the blessings of religious freedom had not yet fully dawned upon mankind. For a century the Christian world had struggled with the intolerant spirit of the Middle Ages. Much, indeed, had been accomplished, but the evolution was slow, and another century must elapse before one could stand in the broad daylight of religious liberty.

No people were more enlightened during this period than the English, yet England furnishes a striking example of religious persecution. The English Reformation is commonly dated from Henry VIII, but that monarch did little more than transfer to himself the power before wielded by the Pope. The seeds for such a revolt had been sown long before by John Wyclif. It was the leaven of Lollardism that brought about in the English heart the conditions which now made the work of Henry vastly easier than it otherwise could have been. After the death of Henry the religious mind of England swayed to and fro for a hundred years and more with the caprice of the sovereign and the ever changing condition of politics. At length, however, the country settled down to the maintenance by law of an Established Church; but there were many whose consciences could not be bound. There were many who attempted to purify the Church of England and were called Puritans,

while still others separated from it and were called Separatists.

The Dissenters, or Nonconformists, as they were often called, were very numerous during the reign of James I. James was a narrow-minded pedant, and probably without any very deep religious convictions. Bred in the Presbyterian faith, he despised Presbyterianism because incompatible with his ideas of monarchy. Of the Puritans he said, "I will make them conform, or I will harry them out of the land." They refused to conform, and the cruel monarch did the latter—he harried them out of the land.

THE PILGRIM FATHERS

The Separatists¹⁰⁷ were less numerous by far than other classes of Nonconformists, yet they formed the advance guard of the great Puritan exodus from the mother country to the shores of New England. The town of Scrooby in Nottinghamshire was the center of a scattered congregation of Separatists whose minister was John Robinson and whose ruling elder was William Brewster, the village postmaster. After enduring many persecutions this little band of Christians, who now became "Pilgrims," escaped with difficulty from their native land to Amsterdam, Holland, whence a year later they removed to Leyden. Here they dwelt for eleven years, exiles for conscience's sake, earning their bread by the labor of their hands.

But the Pilgrims felt that Holland was not their home; they could not endure the thought of giving up their lan-

¹⁰⁷ The Separatists were often called Brownists, from Robert Browne, the reputed founder of the sect. The sect, however, had its origin before Browne's time. See Eggleston's "Beginners of a Nation," p. 146.

guage and customs for those of the Dutch, nor were they willing to return to their native England, where religious persecution had not abated. They had heard of the colony of Virginia, and their thoughts were directed to the wilderness of the New World. Through the friendship and aid of Sir Edwin Sandys, and others, they secured a little money and purchased a little vessel, the *Speedwell*, hired another, the *Mayflower*, and determined to cross the wide waters to America, where they might worship God in their own way and still be Englishmen. Having secured a grant from the Virginia Company to settle in the Hudson Valley, and a promise from the king that he would not interfere with them, and having mortgaged themselves to a company of London merchants, they set forth with brave hearts to encounter the unknown perils of the sea and of the wilderness. The *Speedwell* proved unfit for the sea, and the little band reëmbarked from Plymouth, England, in the *Mayflower* alone. Their minister Robinson had remained in Leyden, and Brewster was the leader. He and John Carver were well advanced in years, but most of the company were in the prime of life. William Bradford was thirty and Edward Winslow but twenty-five. Before leaving Plymouth they were joined by Miles Standish, a sturdy soldier of thirty-six, who was in sympathy with the movement though not a member of the congregation.

The "Pilgrim Fathers" with their wives and children, as borne by the *Mayflower*, numbered one hundred and two; one died on the voyage and one was born. After a perilous voyage of many weeks, they anchored off the coast of New England, far from the point at which they had aimed, and here they were obliged to remain.¹⁰⁸ Being north of the

¹⁰⁸ There had been earlier attempts to colonize the New England



1714 — GEORGE WHITEFIELD — 1770.

BY JOHN WOLLASTON.

From the original portrait in the National Portrait Gallery, London, England.



bounds of the company that had granted them a patent, they occupied a country to which they had no legal right. Before landing they drew up a compact for the government of the colony and chose John Carver governor for the first year. This compact, the "first written constitution in the world," was an agreement by which they pledged themselves "solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and of one another," to form a body politic, to frame such laws as they might need, to which they promised "all due submission and obedience."

The compact was signed by all the adult males, forty-one in number, on the 11th of November, the day on which the *Mayflower* entered Cape Cod harbor.¹⁰⁰ An exploring party went ashore, and they found the country bleak and uninviting in the extreme. The snow was half a foot deep, and the fierce wind blew the spray of the sea upon them, where it froze until their "clothes looked like coats of iron." But the Pilgrims had not sought ease and comfort; they expected hardships and discouragements. They chose Plymouth harbor as a landing place, and on December 16, one hundred and two days after leaving Plymouth, England, they made a landing in the face of a wintry storm, on a barren rock

coast. Gosnold had sailed into Buzzards Bay in 1602, but the would-be colonists who came with him went back in his ship to England. In 1607 George Popham, with a party, undertook to colonize the coast of Maine, but after the experience of one severe winter they all returned to England. Without attempting to plant a colony, Martin Pring had sailed into Plymouth harbor in 1603, and George Weymouth visited the coast of Maine in 1605.

In 1615 Captain John Smith with a company of sixteen men explored a portion of the New England coast, and it was he and not the Pilgrims, as is commonly stated, who gave the name "Plymouth" to the landing-place of the latter.

¹⁰⁰ New style, November 21.

since known as Plymouth Rock. Next they "fell vpon their knees and blessed y^e God of heaven, who had brought them ouer y^e vast and furious ocean." ¹¹⁰

In a few days the men were busily engaged in building cabins, returning each night to the ship; but ere they were finished the wintry blasts had planted the seeds of consumption in many of the little band, and before the coming of spring more than forty of them, including the wives of Bradford, Winslow, and Standish, had been laid in the grave. And yet when the *Mayflower* sailed for England in the early spring, not one of the survivors returned with her, and it is a singular fact that nearly all who survived that dreadful winter at Plymouth lived to a good old age. Among those who died the first year was Governor Carver, and William Bradford, the historian of the colony, was chosen to fill the office, and he held the position for thirty-one years.

The coast at this point was unusually free from Indians, owing to a pestilence that had swept them away a few years before. During the winter they saw but few natives; but they found many Indian graves and here and there hidden baskets of corn. One day in March the people were astonished at the bold approach of an Indian who entered their village crying, "Welcome, Englishmen." This Indian, whose name was Samoset, of the Wampanoag tribe, had learned a little English from fishermen on the coast of Maine. He went away and returned in a few days with another of his people named Squanto, who was to become a benefactor to the infant colony of white men. Squanto had been kidnapped some years before by traders and sold into

¹¹⁰ The tradition of the famous "Landing on Plymouth Rock" should be revised, as the women and children remained in the ship for many weeks longer. See Ames's "*The Mayflower, Her Log*," p. 278.

slavery in Spain, but he was rescued and sent back to his own home by an Englishman, and from this time he was an unswerving friend of the English. He taught the Plymouth people many things about fishing and raising corn, and a few years later, when dying, he begged them to pray that he might go to the Englishman's God in heaven. He could now speak the English language fairly well, and he informed the settlers that his great chief Massasoit desired to make a treaty of peace and friendship with them. The treaty was soon made and it was faithfully kept by both sides for more than fifty years. One object of Massasoit in making this treaty was to protect his tribe from his enemy Canonicus, the chief of the powerful Narragansett tribe. Soon after this Canonicus, wishing to show his hostility toward the new friends of his old enemy, sent Governor Bradford a challenge in the form of a snake skin filled with arrows, but when the skin was returned filled with powder and shot, the forest king decided that it were better to make friends of the white men and did so. With the exception of a little skirmish in defense of a party of traders at Weymouth, the Plymouth people were free from Indian wars till the rise of King Philip—more than a half century after the landing of the *Mayflower*.

The government of Plymouth was a pure democracy, all the freemen assembling in town meetings to choose their officers, make laws, and render judicial decisions. So it continued for eighteen years, when the growth of the colony rendered the meeting of all voters impossible and they established a representative government, each settlement sending two representatives; but the people retained, for twenty years longer, the Referendum—the power to repeal any law that their assembly might enact.

The colony of the Pilgrim Fathers had much to contend with and it increased but slowly. At the end of ten years' existence it contained scarcely more than three hundred people. They had to grapple with the most serious obstacles,—the severe climate, the unproductive soil, and the want of means to carry out what was necessary to be done. To these was added a lack of educational facilities to attract other settlers and a feeling in England against the Separatists, even among Puritans, who refused to join or sympathize with a body of men that had entirely severed their relations with the Church of England. These things had much to do with retarding the growth of Plymouth; but there was another drawback still more serious during the first six years.

The Pilgrims had, before leaving England, virtually mortgaged themselves to a company of "merchant adventurers" of London by forming with them a stock company. In this company every colonist above sixteen years of age engaged to serve the colony seven years, at the end of which each would receive the profits of one share of stock.¹¹¹ This arrangement necessitated a communistic mode of living at Plymouth, and Governor Bradford soon saw that the system was sapping the life of the colony.¹¹² At length he sent Miles Standish to England to have the contract canceled if possible; but in this he failed, and in 1627 the colonists purchased their freedom for a large sum which required seven years for them to pay. At this time the communal system was for the most part broken up, and each household was granted twenty acres as a private allotment.

¹¹¹ Some contributed money, in addition to personal service, and received thereby a greater amount of stock. See Bradford's "History of Plymouth Plantation" (Boston, 1898), p. 57.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 162-163.

The American people of to-day look back with pride to the sturdy Christians who were the founders of our nation; and of the various forms of emigration that resulted in the earliest settlements it is certain that the one holding the highest place in the great American heart is the little band of Puritans who settled at Plymouth in 1620. With all their narrowness we must admire them. No state was ever founded by a more heroic people, and no people were ever moved by nobler motives. The colony continued to live its humble life in the forest in its own way until many years later it was merged into another, and finally became a part of the great state of Massachusetts. ✕

MASSACHUSETTS BAY

Puritanism increased mightily in England during the later years of James I and the reign of his son Charles, notwithstanding the cruel persecutions. If the Dissenters hoped for better things by the change of monarchs, they were doomed to disappointment; for if James had chastised them with whips, Charles chastised them with scorpions. But King Charles with all his bigotry was not the moving spirit during his reign in persecuting Dissenters; for this we must look to his more bigoted courtier, William Laud, the Archbishop of Canterbury.¹¹⁸ Laud was a man of remarkable energy. He was an extreme lover of law and order and a powerful supporter of the royal prerogative. In religion he clung with unyielding tenacity to the letter of the law, but had little conception of its spirit. How a man could, for principle and for conscience's sake, dissent from the Established Church was wholly beyond the comprehension of Laud.

¹¹⁸ Laud did not become archbishop until 1633, though he had long been an intimate adviser of the king.

nor could he respect the one who did it. It was Laud above all men who visited bitter persecutions upon the Puritans in the reign of Charles, and it was Laud who, all unconsciously, did a great service for humanity—he caused the building of a powerful Puritan commonwealth in the New World. The great migration set in with the ascendancy of Laud; “it waned as he declined and ceased forever with his fall.”¹¹⁴

It will be remembered that Puritan and Pilgrim were not synonymous terms. The Puritans, as stated before, were those who sought to purify the English Church and to modify its forms, while remaining within it. The word “Pilgrim,” while it has acquired a religious meaning, was not an ecclesiastical term. It was applied only to the Separatists or Independents who settled at Plymouth because of their migration, first to Holland and later to America. But eventually the Puritans became Independents, not only in America, but also in England, and from them have grown the great religious denominations of the English-speaking world—the Congregationalist, the Baptist, the Methodist,¹¹⁵ and to a great extent the Presbyterian.

During the ten years following the coming of the Pilgrims in 1620 there were numerous conflicting land-grants made in eastern New England, and various scattered settlements sprang up in the neighborhood of Plymouth. An enumeration of these would only be confusing to the reader.

We have noticed, in our account of Virginia, that King James in 1606 chartered two companies, the London and the Plymouth companies. The former succeeded in founding Jamestown; the latter, after various sporadic attempts, had

¹¹⁴ Eggleston, “Beginners of a Nation,” p. 196.

¹¹⁵ The Methodist church rose at a later date; but it had its origin in the same spirit that actuated the Puritans.



1595—EDWARD WINSLOW—1655.

1651.

From the original portrait in possession of the Pilgrim Society of Plymouth.



in 1620 done nothing. Meantime, John Smith of Virginia fame had explored the coast of northern Virginia, as it was then called, made a map of the coast, and named the country New England. In 1620 the old Plymouth company secured a charter and was henceforth known as the Council for New England. Sir Ferdinando Gorges was its leading member. This charter was for the vast territory between the fortieth and forty-eighth degrees of latitude, the name New England being substituted for northern Virginia. This new company, in its efforts to found colonies, made many land grants, one of which, in 1628, was to six men, of whom John Endicott was the chief. This same year Endicott, who was to play a leading part in the early history of Massachusetts, came out with a following of sixty and settled at a place called Salem, joining a small settlement already there. But the great Puritan exodus was yet to begin, and as a large number of Puritans were now ready to join the colony, it was deemed far more satisfactory to have a royal charter than a mere land grant. A charter was therefore secured from Charles I in March, 1629, confirming the land grant of 1628, namely, from three miles south of the Charles River to a point three miles north of the Merrimac, extending westward to the Pacific Ocean, which was believed to be much nearer than it is. This new company was styled the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England. The government was to be placed in the hands of a governor, deputy governor, and eighteen assistants, to be elected annually by the company.¹¹⁶

This charter was very similar to the third charter of Virginia of 1612. But there was one remarkable point of

¹¹⁶ Provision was also made for "one great, general and solemn assembly" to meet four times a year.

difference: it did not provide, as did the Virginia charter, that the seat of government must remain in England. This omission led to the most important results in the building of New England. The year of the granting of the charter was the same in which the despotic king of England dismissed his Parliament and began his autocratic rule of eleven years without one. The political situation, therefore, as well as religious persecution, rendered the Puritan party extremely uncomfortable in England. Consequently, a small party of leading Puritans met at Cambridge in August of this year and adopted the "Cambridge Agreement," to migrate to Massachusetts, on condition that the charter and seat of government be transferred thither. To this the Massachusetts Bay Company agreed, and John Winthrop, a gentleman of wealth and education, one of the strongest and most admirable characters in the pioneer history of America, was chosen governor. Thomas Dudley was chosen deputy governor. A party of three hundred had been sent to join Endicott at Salem, and in April of the next year, 1630, Winthrop himself embarked, with a large company, for the New World.

The Pilgrims of 1620 were men of great zeal, but of little knowledge; many of the Puritans of 1630, however, were men of education and fortune,¹¹⁷ members of Parliament, or clergymen of the most liberal education. Led by such men, the movement created a profound impression in England, and thousands now prepared to cross the western ocean and take up their abode in the forests of New England. More than a thousand came in 1630, and as the policy of the king and Laud became more intolerable, the tide increased in volume. The people came, not singly, nor as

¹¹⁷ Chalmers's "Introduction," Vol. I, p. 58.

families merely, but frequently as congregations, led by their pastor.

Winthrop had brought with him the charter, and this was the first step in a very important process—the process of fusing the company and colonists into one body. The second step, which soon followed, was the admitting of the colonists, or “freemen,” to membership in the company. By this the company ceased to be a private trading company conducted for commercial gain; it became a body politic, a self-governing community. The condition of freemanship was made, not a property or educational test, but a religious qualification. The company was conservative and the process was slow. When there were 3000 settlers there were but 350 freemen, but the beginning of popular government was at hand. The ostensible object of the company, when it secured the charter, was to profit by trade; the real object was to establish a religious community with freedom of conscience, not for all, but for those only who were in religious accord with them. And the religious test for freemanship became the safeguard by which they secured for the future the end for which they had sacrificed so much. The matter of popular government, however, did not come without some friction, as we shall soon notice.

Some time after landing, Winthrop found a clear spring of water on a peninsula called Shawmut, and there he took up his abode, founded a town, and called it Boston. Newtown, now Cambridge, was the first capital, but Boston was soon chosen as the seat of government. Meantime, Roxbury, Charlestown, Watertown, Dorchester, and other towns were founded.

The various Puritan settlements were soon in friendly relations with the Pilgrims at Plymouth. They had for-

merly professed to despise the Separatists, but scarcely had the shores of England receded from their view when they felt a sense of freedom as never before,¹¹⁸ and this feeling took a deeper hold on them until they found themselves no longer Puritans in the original sense, but Separatists pure and simple. Their churches were organized on the Plymouth plan, and were never connected in any way with the Established Church of England.

In the matter of local government, the old parish system of England, half ecclesiastical and half political, was reproduced in the town or township. But it soon lost its religious functions and became the political unit, with absolute control of local government; while in Virginia, where the old name was retained, the opposite ensued—the parish became a religious division, while the county became the political unit. This subject will be treated more fully in our chapter on Colonial Life.

✓ The general government was at first conducted by the governor, deputy governor, and the assistants. This caused discontent among the freemen and when, in 1631, a tax was assessed for public works, the people of Watertown protested with the argument that it was taxation without representation. The Watertown protest was heeded and the freemen, who had delegated their right of electing the governor to the assistants, now resumed that right, and to punish Winthrop for his aristocratic tendencies they dropped him and elected Dudley governor. Thus, in New England, as well as in the South, the democratic tendency was apparent almost from the beginning. But the freemen soon found it inconvenient for all to meet in General Court, and they established the representative system. Each town sent

¹¹⁸ Eggleston, p. 213.



1573— WILLIAM LAUD, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY—1645.

BY ANTHONY VANDYKE, 1633.

From the original portrait in Lambeth Palace, London, England.



two delegates¹¹⁹ and these, with the governor and assistants, formed the General Court, which had legislative and judicial power. The freemen, however, continued to meet at Boston once a year to choose a governor and other officials; but as this practice became inconvenient, the proxy system was introduced, and this developed into the system of written ballots and sealed returns.¹²⁰ In 1641, the General Court adopted a code of laws known as the "Body of Liberties." Prior to this they had been governed by the common law of England and the precepts of the Bible.

The settlers of the Bay colony had their hardships,—the long, harsh winters, the unfertile soil, the lurking red man, often hostile, and other obstacles common to pioneer life,—but the growth of the colony was phenomenal. The great Puritan exodus continued for ten years, and by 1640 more than twenty thousand home seekers had sailed into the harbors of Massachusetts Bay. Such a movement of population had not been known since the Crusades of the Middle Ages. Strong houses soon took the place of the early built cabins; herds of cattle, goats, and swine covered the countryside, and ships were soon carrying loads of lumber, salt fish, and furs to the mother country.

No one was more astonished at the growing prosperity of the Puritan commonwealth than was the despotic king who had granted the charter. From the ignoblest of motives, therefore, though ostensibly because of complaints that had reached his ears from a few malcontents, who had been sent back to England by the Puritans, King Charles determined (1635) to annul the charter. A writ of *quo warranto* was

¹¹⁹ After 1636 the delegates were from one to three according to population.

¹²⁰ Bishop's "History of Elections," p. 123 sq.

issued, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, an uncompromising enemy of the Puritans, was to be made ruler of New England. But suddenly the opposition to the king became so threatening in England that he dropped the matter, and the charter was left unharmed. The people of Massachusetts had meantime shown a spirit of defiance similar to that by which their posterity, a hundred and forty years later, drew the attention of the world. They sent a messenger, in the person of Edward Winslow of Plymouth, to London to plead their cause, but at the same time they fortified their coast towns, collected arms, and trained militia. When, however, the king abandoned his designs against the charter, Massachusetts became practically an independent colony. In 1643 even the oath of allegiance to the Crown was dropped, and for a long period the colony was wholly without interference from royal authority. During the Civil War in England, and even during the period of the Commonwealth under Cromwell, Massachusetts followed the same independent course as before.

The governorship, during the early years of the Bay colony, alternated between Winthrop and Dudley. But in 1636 Harry Vane, a young man who had arrived the year before, the son and heir of a high official in England, was chosen to fill the office. Vane was not a bad man, but he was radical, and his selection at a time when the wisest heads were needed to guide the ship of state proved to be unwise.

It was at this early period that two notable events mark the history of Massachusetts, and they were brought about by two notable persons,—Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson. Williams was a young English clergyman of great strength of character and irrepressible enthusiasm. In his own land he found no rest, on account of his religious teach-

ings, and in 1631 made his way with his young wife to New England. Scarcely had he landed when his troubles began anew. He seemed like an Ishmael—his hand against every man and every man's hand against him. He stirred up opposition at Boston, at Plymouth, and at Salem. He refused to take the oath of fidelity; he denied the right of the magistrate to punish for violations of the first table of the Decalogue; he denied the right of compelling one to take an oath; he denounced the union of Church and State, and pronounced the king's patent void, as the Indians were the true owners of the land. The discontent caused by Williams's doctrines became so serious that the General Court took hold of the matter and, after a second offense, ordered him to leave the colony within six weeks. He still kept up the disturbance and it was decided to send him directly to England. Williams, hearing of this decision, made his escape into the forest and wandered about for fourteen weeks, spending his nights with the Indians, or in hollow trees, until eventually he settled in one spot and became the builder of a city and the founder of a state.

Roger Williams has been looked upon as an apostle of religious liberty, and so he was. His ideas were far in advance of his age, and some of them have since spread throughout the Christian world. We admire Williams for his sincerity, his adherence to principles. But he was impractical and wanting in tact. He was mainly right in the abstract, but wrong in his methods of application. He was wrong in preaching revolutionary doctrines, and urging them on a people who were not ready for them. Had the colonists followed him in declaring the royal charter valueless, their independence would soon have come to an end. The people of Massachusetts were proud of their theocratic

government; they had labored and sacrificed much to obtain it, and probably it was the very best for them at the time. They cannot, therefore, be blamed for dealing with Williams as they did.

Scarcely had the affair of Roger Williams been settled when the colonists found it necessary to deal with another religious enthusiast. The men were in the habit of holding meetings, to which the women were not admitted, to discuss public and religious questions. Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, a woman of talent and eloquence, resented this insult to her sex, as she called it, and began to hold meetings at her own house. Here they discussed theological questions and put forth views at variance with those of the ministers and the magistrates, asserting that the latter were under a covenant of works while she and her followers were under a covenant of grace. The whole colony became agitated with the subject. John Winthrop and most of the magistrates and ministers opposed the new doctrines, while the young Governor Vane and others favored them. At length, after Winthrop had been reelected governor and Vane had sailed for England, Mrs. Hutchinson was exiled from the colony. She made her way to a new antinomian settlement near that of Roger Williams, whence, after a sojourn of several years, she removed farther westward and was captured and murdered by the Indians.

About twenty years after the Hutchinson episode another and more serious affair disturbed the peace of Massachusetts. The Quakers, a religious sect newly founded in England, began coming to Massachusetts in 1656. They refused to take an oath and many thought them Jesuits in disguise. Reports of their extreme fanaticism had reached the colonists, and the first arrivals were sent back. Laws were then

enacted to prohibit their coming, but they came in defiance of the laws. At length a law was passed (there was but one majority in the lower house) pronouncing the death sentence upon any Quaker who, having been once banished, should return to the colony. To the astonishment of all, a few of the banished ones returned and demanded the repeal of the cruel law. Their fanaticism increased with the persecution; they walked the streets and entered the churches in a nude condition,¹²¹ denouncing the laws and the Puritan form of worship. The authorities were perplexed. They had not expected to have occasion to enforce their harsh law; they had only meant to keep out a people whom they despised. But now they must actually put these people to death or yield to their demand and repeal the law. They met in solemn conclave and again decided by one majority to enforce the law. Four of the Quakers were hanged.

But public opinion did not sustain the magistrates and the law was repealed. Thus the Quakers, by sacrificing a few lives, won a victory, and they eventually settled down and became quiet, useful citizens, devoting much of their energy to the conversion of the Indians.

Another popular delusion, still more serious in its results, was what is known as the Salem Witchcraft. This we notice here though it belongs to a later period. The witchcraft craze began on this wise. Some young girls who were in the habit of reading witch stories imagined themselves bewitched, and began to accuse an old Indian woman and others of bewitching them. The tale was believed, and the excitement it caused spread like an epidemic. Hundreds of people, accused of being witches, were thrown into prison;

¹²¹ Lodge's "English Colonies," p. 354.

nineteen were hanged, one, an aged man, was pressed to death, and two died in prison before the crazy superstition had spent its force.

It was not long until the people awoke to the horror of their delusion, and then they bitterly repented their folly—as a drunkard, in his sober moments, mourns over the deeds of his delirium. It is unjust for later generations to make this delusion a ground of reproach upon the people of New England. Be it remembered that witchcraft was believed in at this time in every part of the civilized world, and thousands had been put to death in Europe for the same cause.¹²² When it is remembered, further, that the religion of the Puritans was austere and somber, that the people were given to the morbid habit of introspection, that they ever had to battle with the dark, frowning forest and the wily Indian, and further that the age was a superstitious age—remembering all these things, we can only wonder that our forefathers were not more frequently the victims of some delusive craze than they were.

Massachusetts grew and prospered greatly, and by the time of the Restoration in England, in 1660, the colony had become a powerful commonwealth. The independence of the colony was largely due to the internal strife and frequent changes of government in England, which left little time and opportunity to deal with matters beyond the sea. But soon after Charles II became king he began to look with jealous eye upon the increasing importance of Massachusetts Bay. He accused the colonists of assuming powers not warranted in the charter and of violating the Navigation Acts, and he ceased not to harass them in various ways until

¹²² The law in England imposing death for witchcraft was not repealed for forty years after this Salem delusion.

the last year of his life, when he succeeded, on a writ of *quo warranto*, in having the charter pronounced void by the high court of chancery, and the liberties of the great Puritan commonwealth were temporarily at an end. Other matters of importance, as the New England Confederacy, King Philip's War, the career of Sir Edmund Andros, and the like, belong rather to the history of New England as a whole than to that of one colony, and will be treated in a later chapter.

CONNECTICUT

The other New England colonies were founded and built up by the same class of people that had settled Massachusetts, and they were actuated by much the same motives and ambitions. The history of the one as given is therefore in substance the history of the others. A brief notice, however, of the interior settlements is here in place.

The people of Massachusetts were not long in casting their eyes westward from their own barren coast to the fertile valley of the Connecticut River, which Adrian Block, the Dutchman, had discovered some years before; and the result was that a new colony was soon flourishing on its banks. The father of Connecticut was Thomas Hooker, who had been driven from his native land by the persecuting Laud. He had arrived at Boston, in 1632, in the same ship which bore that other noted divine, John Cotton. Cotton became the Puritan pastor at Boston, and Hooker at the adjoining village of Newtown, now Cambridge. Hooker was not only a preacher of great power; he possessed the elements of statesmanship of the most modern type. Governor Winthrop, with all his admirable qualities, was an aristocrat to the core. He believed in the government of the many by the

few, and it was he that influenced the Bay colony to create freemen out of the citizens but slowly, and to limit the suffrage to members of the Church. To this Hooker could not agree. A sharp controversy ensued between him and the governor of Massachusetts. To Winthrop he wrote that, "In matters which concern the common good, a general council chosen by all, to transact business which concerns all, I conceive most suitable to rule and most safe for relief of the whole."

This was modern democracy at its best, nor was the sentiment ever surpassed by the writer of the Declaration of Independence. It was this disagreement with the powers of Massachusetts that led Hooker to dreams of pressing farther into the wilderness and founding another colony. Another cause for this desire, as some think, was that he was disturbed by the fact that his rival, John Cotton, had surpassed him in winning public attention. Cotton, the pastor at Boston, was the leading clergyman, the religious oracle of the colony; while Hooker, conscious of equal power and eloquence, believed that the insignificance of the town in which he was located, away from the harbor, in the midst of an unfertile region, had much to do with curbing his influence. But Hooker was a man of spotless character, and his ambition to extend his influence was an ambition to do good.

In the balmy days of June, 1636, the famous year of the founding of Providence and of Harvard College, Hooker and his entire congregation migrated on foot to the Connecticut Valley, driving their cattle before them. Here they found a post of Plymouth men and Dutch traders from the Hudson striving for the mastery; but Hooker ignored both, began the town of Hartford, and thus laid the foundations of a new commonwealth. Other congregations, from Dor-



1588 — JOHN WINTHROP — 1649.

From the original portrait in the State House, Boston, Mass.



chester and Watertown, soon followed and founded the towns of Windsor and Wethersfield. Within a year eight hundred people had found their way into the valley.

The government was a provisional one under a commission from Massachusetts, for a year, when the three towns, with the scattered settlers around, banded together and formed a little independent republic; and here, in a rude legislative hall, with no blare of trumpets, occurred one of the great events of early American annals—the production of the first written constitution in history that really created a government.¹²³ This constitution, known as the Fundamental Orders, brought forth little that was new; it modeled a government after that of Massachusetts, the chief departures being that a governor could not serve two successive terms and especially that no religious test be required for citizenship. It created a General Court with legislative, judicial, and administrative powers, while local town government had already been transplanted from the mother colony. It provided for a representative government; but sixty years passed before Connecticut had a bicameral legislature. No mention whatever was made by the Fundamental Orders of the British government or of any allegiance to the king. Here on the banks of the Connecticut was one of the birthplaces of modern democracy, with the needful elements of a nationality; here was a federal government, a prototype in miniature of the present government of the United States, which is to-day, as Mr. Fiske says, “in lineal descent more nearly related to that of Connecticut than to that of any of the other thirteen colonies.”

¹²³ Neither the *Mayflower* compact, nor the agreements of the Narragansett communities had created a form of government. Osgood, in *Political Science Quarterly*, XIV, p. 261.

This constitution, with some alterations, was in force for one hundred and eighty years. John Haynes became the first governor of Connecticut. Springfield, founded about the same time, remained a part of Massachusetts.

Meanwhile John Winthrop, son of the Massachusetts governor, built a fort at the mouth of the Connecticut River, which was named Saybrook, after Lord Say and Lord Brook, under whose authority he acted. Of more importance was the founding of the New Haven colony, in 1638. Rev. John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton, a wealthy merchant from London, led a company of emigrants, mostly from Massachusetts, and pitched their tents on the northern shore of Long Island Sound. Here under a great oak Davenport expounded the Scriptures, saying that the people, like the Son of Man, were led forth into the wilderness to be tempted; and here they set up their government with the Mosaic law as their code adapted to their conditions, and with the closest union of Church and State. Eaton was made governor and was reelected annually for many years. Other towns, Milford, Guilford, and Stamford, soon came into existence, and these united with New Haven, all taking the name of the New Haven Colony. Thus the river valley and the northern shore of the sound gradually became peopled with Puritan settlers. These two newborn colonies came near being strangled in their infancy. Their dangers were twofold—from the Dutch and from the Indians. The Dutch of New Amsterdam claimed the Connecticut Valley, and for many years there was desultory strife between them and the English settlers, when at length the latter succeeded in driving out the former.

But the greatest menace came from the Indians, and

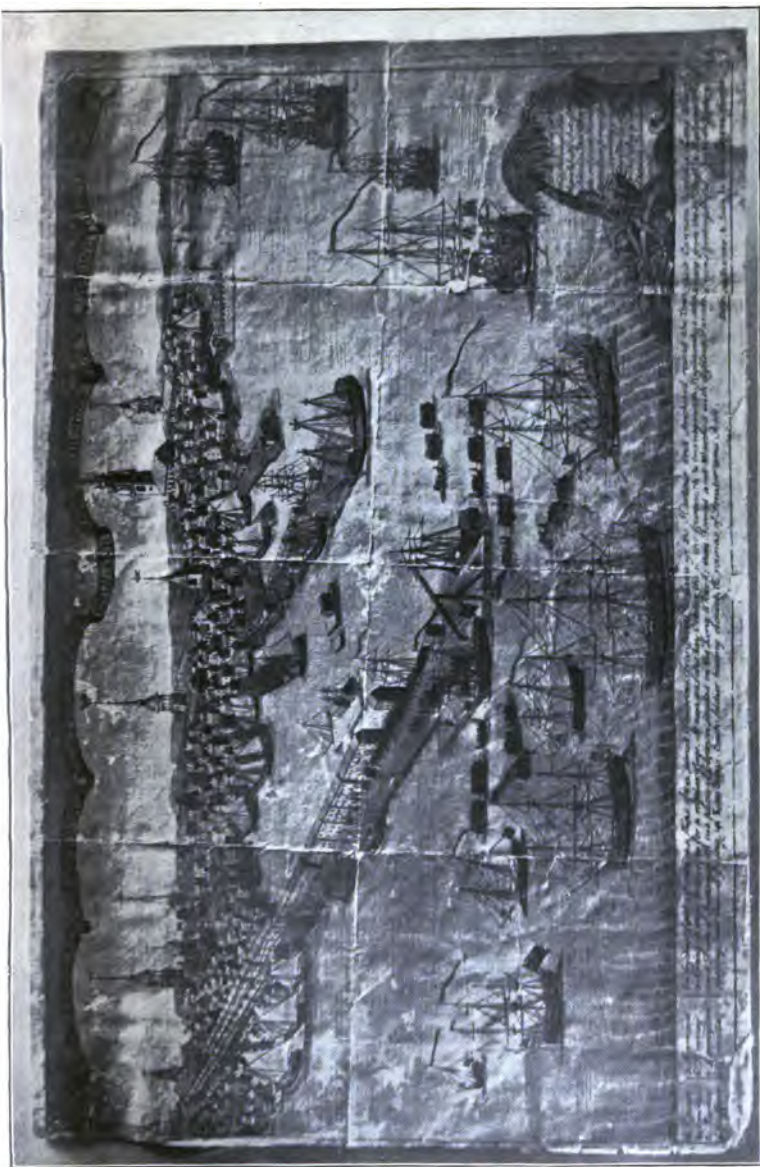
scarcely had these infant settlements been made when the people had to pass through an Indian war, the first in New England's history, and known as the Pequot War. The Pequot Indians had murdered a Virginia trader on the Connecticut River, and John Endicott marched against them with a body of soldiers. The Indians refused to give up the guilty ones, and Endicott burned two of their towns and destroyed their crops. The next spring the storm broke forth in earnest. The Pequots, who had been murdering settlers during the winter, made every effort to enlist the powerful Narragansetts; but the alliance was prevented by Roger Williams. A company of about eighty white men, accompanied by about three hundred Indian allies of the Narragansett and Mohegan tribes, surprised the enemy in their fort at daybreak one morning in May, and slew more than six hundred, but seven making their escape. A few months later another battle was fought, and the Pequot power was utterly broken. The chief, Sassacus, escaped to New York with a few followers, and was afterward murdered by one of his own subjects. Thus the whole tribe was practically exterminated, and for forty years afterward New England was free from Indian wars.

The people of Connecticut occupied their land for many years without any title to it except what they had from the Indians. But in 1662 the younger Winthrop secured a royal charter for Connecticut from Charles II, the most liberal that had yet been given. The only restriction was that the laws should not conflict with the laws of England. This charter, creating a corporation on the place, was similar to that of Massachusetts, to which the king objected. One object in granting it, as in the case of Rhode Island, was to encourage rivalries to Massachusetts. The charter included

the New Haven Colony ; but that colony sternly resisted, and at length consented to become a part of Connecticut only when there was danger of its being absorbed by New York. But many of the New Haven people emigrated to northern New Jersey rather than come under the rule of Connecticut. John Winthrop now became the leading man in the colony, as his father had been in Massachusetts, and he held the office of governor for many years. After the serious trouble with King James II and with Andros, Connecticut, still retaining its liberal charter, was free from royal interference, and for a long period this "Land of Steady Habits" was the most peaceful and happy of all the English colonies in America.

RHODE ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS

We have noticed the flight of Roger Williams from Salem, and his wandering through the forest in search of a place to rest his head. He visited the good old chief Massasoit, who received him with great kindness, and Canonieus, who gave him a tract of land at the head of Narragansett Bay ; and here on the banks of a little river he, with five followers, laid out a town and called it Providence. Soon after this William Coddington and John Clark, with a small following, settled on the little island of Rhode Island, then called Aquednok, which they purchased from the Indians, and founded the town of Portsmouth. These settlers were but twenty in number, but they adopted an agreement, chose Coddington governor, and put into motion the machinery of government. The Providence people had adopted a similar agreement, and thus they had two miniature independent commonwealths. These little settlements soon attracted people from Massachusetts. Mrs. Hutchinson came, and



“VIEW OF PART OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON, IN NEW ENGLAND, AND BRITISH SHIPS OF WAR LANDING THEIR TROOPS, 1768.”

BY PAUL REVERE, 1770.

From an original print in possession of Dr. John Collins Warren, Boston, Mass.



joined the Coddington settlement; but as she and Coddington could not agree, the latter left the place in 1639 and founded Newport on the same island. Newport and Portsmouth were united the next year, and Coddington was made governor. These communities were founded on the principle of absolute freedom of conscience. Most of the settlers were of the type of the founders, antinomians and malcontents—men who could not endure the rigors of Puritan theology, law, and custom. In fact, their spirit of freedom was extreme, and it went wild. They could not agree among themselves, and for many years Rhode Island was the most turbulent of all the New England colonies.¹²⁴

Their "soul liberty," as Roger Williams termed it, did not extend to civil matters. In Providence only heads of families could vote, all unmarried men being denied the right of suffrage. Later the suffrage was restricted to owners of land. The settlements, being without title to their land, sent Williams in 1643 to England to secure a charter. The king and Parliament being then at variance, he obtained his charter from a committee of the latter, and on his return was received with great enthusiasm. The charter was issued to the "Incorporation of Providence Plantations in the Narragansett Bay in New England." It gave the people power to govern themselves, but was simply a charter of incorporation and contained no land grant.¹²⁵ The town of Warwick had now been founded, and the four towns were united under the new charter. But the union was short-lived. Coddington, in 1648, obtained a separate charter for Portsmouth and Newport. But this action was not satisfactory,

¹²⁴ Winsor, Vol. III, p. 337; Lodge, p. 389.

¹²⁵ See Poore, Vol. II, pp. 15, 94.

and after a bitter quarrel of several years the four towns were again united under the charter secured by Williams.

After the Restoration, however, this charter granted by Parliament was not considered valid, and in 1663 the colony secured from Charles II a second charter for "Rhode Island and Providence Plantations," which confirmed the privileges granted by the first, made a land grant, and provided that no one be molested "for any difference in opinion in matters of religion."¹²⁵ Here was the spirit of Roger Williams embodied in constitutional law, and it grew and expanded until it covered all Christendom. But with sublime inconsistency the legislature of the colony, some time after the charter was granted, declared that "Roman Catholics shall not enjoy the rights of freemen." So liberal was this charter and so devoted to it were the people that it remained in force until after the Dorr Rebellion of 1842. Connecticut and Rhode Island enjoyed greater freedom of government than any other of the American colonies. They were called "two little republics embosomed within a great empire."¹²⁶

The colony of Rhode Island was never popular among its neighbors. As Doyle says, "Rhode Island was to New England what New England as a whole was to the mother country"—an outcast child that in the end brought glory to the parent state. The colony was excluded from the confederacy of 1643, and, moreover, it was harassed for years by the claims upon its territory by Massachusetts and Connecticut. But the people were plucky and they successfully defended their rights, and in spite of external encroachments and internal dissensions the colony grew in strength and importance, and its trade extended in every direction.

¹²⁵ Chalmers's "Introduction," Vol. I, p. 109.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

The territory that afterward became New Hampshire was included in a grant of land in 1622 by the Council for New England to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and John Mason, both of whom had been interested in New England affairs from the beginning. The grant extended from the Merrimac River to the Kennebec.¹²⁷ The first settlement was made in 1623 by a Scotchman named Thomson, at the mouth of the Piscataqua River, and was called Little Harbor. A few years later Edward Hilton, a London fish merchant, founded Dover six miles up the river. He was soon joined by his brother William and several families, and later by others from Massachusetts.

A company called the Laconia Company was formed in England in 1629, and the next year it sent a vessel to the mouth of the Piscataqua, bearing a colony of settlers with Captain Neal as governor. Portsmouth, first called Strawberry Bank, was settled, and Governor Neal spent several years exploring the forest. He brought back a discouraging report to his company, and the settlement was left to shift for itself.

In 1638 a settlement was made at Exeter between the Piscataqua and Merrimac rivers by John Wheelwright, the brother-in-law of Mrs. Hutchinson, who had been banished from Massachusetts.

These little towns had come into existence, each independent of the others. None of them had a stable government,

¹²⁷ A second patent to New Hampshire was granted to Mason November 7, 1629, and the name New Hampshire was used; ten days later another to Gorges and Mason for "Laconia," and two years later still another to the same for the land near the mouth of the Piscataqua. It would be confusing to the reader to attempt to remember all the land

and there was constant discord and turbulence. In 1639 the towns formed an agreement to unite, but as Massachusetts claimed this territory, the towns at length agreed to come under her jurisdiction. The union was formed in 1641, the people of the settlements retaining liberty to manage their "town affairs," and each town was permitted to send a deputy to the General Court at Boston.

New Hampshire continued a part of Massachusetts until 1679, when the king separated them. He joined them again in 1686; but they were finally separated in 1691, and New Hampshire again became a royal province, the president and council being appointed by the Crown and the assembly elected by the people. Until 1741, however, the governor was but a lieutenant under the supervision of the governor of Massachusetts.

New Hampshire grew very slowly for many years. The chief cause of this was the fact that the heirs of Mason claimed the right to the land, and their infinite disputes and litigations with the settlers concerning the land titles repelled home seekers. At last, after a hundred years of controversy, the Mason heirs were satisfied (1749) by the purchase of their claims.

In 1719 a colony of Scotch-Irish immigrants settled in New Hampshire and founded the town of Londonderry, so named from the city in Ireland from which they came. These people were thrifty, and they soon began an industry which they had learned in Ireland—the raising of flax and manufacturing of linen goods. The goods made by means of the old spinning-wheel in these humble cabins in the

grants and patents in addition to the royal charters of those times. Many of the charters and grants conflict, and many make grants of lands whose bounds were unknown.



From a print by Paul Revere in the Lenox Library, New York.



forests became famous over all New England, and even in the mother country.

After the middle of the eighteenth century a bitter dispute arose between New Hampshire and New York concerning the territory lying west of the Connecticut River, both colonies claiming it. One of New Hampshire's governors had laid out about one hundred and forty townships in this disputed region. These were called the "New Hampshire Grants." But in 1765 the king decided the contest in favor of New York, and when the governor of that colony ordered the settlers, now several thousand in number, to repurchase their lands, they arose in rebellion. Led by Ethan Allen and Seth Warner, both afterward famous in the War of the Revolution, the "Green Mountain Boys" fought off the New York officers, and in 1777 they declared the "New Hampshire Grants" an independent state under the name of Vermont. Fourteen years later Vermont became the first of the states, aside from the original thirteen, to enter the Union.

The two proprietors of Laconia had, in 1629, divided their possessions, Mason receiving the portion that became New Hampshire,¹²⁸ and Gorges the eastern portion, which was called Maine. It will be remembered that the Laconia patent was simply a grant of land from the Council for New England and not a royal charter. In 1639, however, Gorges received from Charles I a royal charter for Maine, from the Piscataqua to the Kennebec and one hundred and twenty miles inland. This charter was similar to that of Maryland, erecting a county palatine and proprietary province. But in

¹²⁸ Mason spoke of it as New Hampshire in his will of 1635, after Hampshire in England, where he had held an important office; but the colony was not so called by the settlers before the restoration of Charles II. For a hundred years and more after the colony was settled the heirs of Mason made the settlers much trouble by claiming their lands.

1677 the heirs of Gorges sold their rights to Massachusetts. The territory was now called the District of Maine, and under this name it was governed by the elder colony for nearly one hundred and fifty years, when, in 1820, Maine was admitted into the Union as a state.

We have now six important colonial settlements in New England, besides many smaller ones that are not usually accorded the dignity of separate colonies. Two of these six, Hartford and New Haven, had united and become one, and a similar union was to be effected between two others, Massachusetts Bay¹²⁹ and Plymouth, thus reducing the number to four.¹³⁰ These four, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, were among the thirteen states, the other two New England states, Vermont and Maine, as we have seen, coming into the Union after the Revolution.

Having followed the settlements of the various New England colonies, let us now take a brief survey of matters that affected all these colonies, during what may be termed the second period of their existence.

¹²⁹ Massachusetts was called Massachusetts Bay for about a hundred and fifty years after its founding.

¹³⁰ The union of Massachusetts and New Hampshire being temporary.

CHAPTER VI

NEW ENGLAND AFFAIRS

IMMEDIATELY after the close of the war with the Pequot Indians, there came a proposition from Connecticut for a union of the New England colonies, for the purpose of protection against the common enemies. After several years of negotiation, this proposition resulted in

THE NEW ENGLAND CONFEDERATION (1643-1684)

This union, the prototype of our present national Union, had its origin in the same town that gave to the world its first written constitution, and the same that, nearly two centuries later, became the seat of the famous Hartford Convention.

The articles were drawn up at Boston in May, 1643, by the leading men of New England. Among the representatives we find Haynes, governor of Hartford, Eaton, governor of New Haven, and from Plymouth and Massachusetts, Winslow and Winthrop. Four colonies only entered into the compact—Massachusetts (including New Hampshire), Hartford, New Haven, and Plymouth—no invitation to join the union being extended to Rhode Island, or to the scattered settlers of Maine. Rhode Island was left out for obvious reasons, and Maine, chiefly because most of the settlers were of the Established Church.

The name adopted was "The United Colonies of New England"; the union was a loose confederation, each colony

retaining its home government as before. The main object in uniting was to protect themselves the better from their common enemies—from the Indians about them, from the Dutch on the west, the French on the north, and even from possible dangers from the mother country, which was, at that moment, in the throes of civil war. The union was merely a business arrangement; it did not conduce to arouse any particular attachments or patriotism. The business of the confederation was to be transacted by a commission of eight men, two from each colony; a vote of six was required to carry a measure, and their vote was final. The expenses as well as the spoils of war were to be divided among the colonies, in proportion to their respective male populations between the ages of sixteen and threescore years. The articles provided for the delivering up of the runaway slaves and of fugitives from justice. This feature was the prototype of the Fugitive Slave Law of a later generation. Provision was made for the admission of other colonies, and that the union should be perpetual.

The coalition was unfair to Massachusetts, whose people, exceeding in numbers the population of the other three combined, could thus be drawn into war without their own consent. The only remedy lay in violating the compact, and this Massachusetts did ten years after it was made, by refusing to engage in a war with the Dutch, nor was there any power to coerce her. The union was very weak after 1662, when New Haven was joined to Connecticut; it continued, however, until 1684, when it was dissolved, after an existence of forty-one years. The coalition had been very useful to the people; it had given weight to their dealings with the Dutch, and it carried them through the most dangerous

Indian conflict of colonial times. It also furnished a precedent for colonial union in later times.

KING PHILIP'S WAR

The relations of the colonists to the Indians were three-fold: they traded with the Indians, they fought with them, and they preached the gospel to them. The early settlers carried on trade with the natives, because it was profitable, and because it was often necessary, in keeping the colonists from starvation. They sought from pure and honest motives to convert the red men to Christianity. The people of Massachusetts were foremost in this laudable ambition. The Reverend John Eliot, the Apostle to the Indians, labored for many years to give them the gospel, and translated the Bible into their language.¹²¹ Eliot was assisted by many others, and many of the dusky inhabitants of the forest learned to bow down to the Christian's God. Nevertheless, conflict between the white men and the Indians was at times inevitable. The Indian could not understand the perpetual obligations of a treaty, nor could he discriminate between the honest settler who sought only to do him good, and the conscienceless trader who defrauded him. Hence the two races were embroiled in wars from time to time, until the stronger race finally triumphed over the weaker, and took sole possession of the land. No other result, indeed, was possible. The two races were so unlike in their aspirations and their capacity for civilization that they could not dwell together, and barbarism fell before the onmarch of civilization.

Philip was the son of Massasoit, chief of the Wampa-

¹²¹ This translation is now a great literary curiosity. No man can read it, the language having perished with the people that used it.

noags, who had made a treaty of friendship with the Pilgrims of Plymouth soon after their landing. This treaty had been faithfully kept for fifty years, but soon after the death of the aged chief, Philip and his tribe became estranged from the white settlers and began to prepare for war. No particular cause for the war that ensued is known. It was apparently a spontaneous outburst, rather than the result of a conspiracy of the Indians. It is supposed that the Indians, seeing the gradual encroachment of the white men upon the lands of their fathers, determined to drive the intruders from the country.

The war began with an Indian attack on the town of Swansea, in which several men, women, and children were killed. The cry of alarm instantly spread throughout the colonies and the effect was immediate. Three hours after the messenger had reached Boston a body of men was on the march from that city toward the Indian country. Other towns responded with equal vigor, and ere many days the New England forest rang with the crack of the musket and the war whoop of the savage. Had the Indians met their civilized foe in open battle they would soon have been annihilated; but their method was to attack the lonely farmhouse, the unprotected settlement, or to creep by stealth at dead of night upon the sleeping hamlet and with fiendish yells to fall upon their victims with the tomahawk.

Philip was a bold and powerful leader. He succeeded in enlisting the aid of the Narragansetts; but many of the Indians, especially those converted by Eliot, assisted the colonies. In the summer of 1675 the towns of Brookfield, Deerfield, and Northfield were burned by the savages, and many of the inhabitants perished. A band of soldiers led by Captain Beers was ambushed near Deerfield and almost all

were killed. The Indians then attacked Hadley, and while the villagers were fighting desperately it is said that an aged man with flowing white hair and beard appeared and took command of the battle, and the savages were soon driven off. Many thought him an angel sent from heaven for their deliverance. It proved to be Goffe, the regicide, who had long been hiding in the town.¹⁸²

The following winter a thousand of the best men of New England marched against the savage foe; they surprised the Narragansett fort and put to death probably seven hundred people in a night. By the spring of 1676 the Indians were on the defensive. Philip became a fugitive and escaped his pursuers from place to place. At length he was overtaken in a swamp in Rhode Island by Captain Ben Church of Plymouth and was shot dead by one of his own race. The war soon ended; the Indians had lost three thousand men, their power was utterly broken, and never again was there a war of the races in southern New England. But the cost to the colonies was terrible. Thirteen towns had been laid in ashes; the wilderness was marked on every side with desolate farms and ruined homes. A thousand of the brave young men had fallen, and there was scarcely a fireside that was not a place of mourning. The public debt had risen to an enormous figure, falling most heavily on Plymouth, in proportion to population. In this colony alone the debt reached was £15,000, more, it was said, than the entire property valuation of the colony—but this debt was paid to the last shilling.

¹⁸² Goffe and his father-in-law, Whalley, had signed the death warrant of King Charles I, and after the Restoration they fled to America and lived in hiding till their death.

EDMUND ANDROS

Scarcely had this disastrous war come to an end when New England was called upon to face a new danger, and one from an altogether different source. The new foe was the British monarch. But this was not the beginning of the trouble. Fifteen years before, soon after Charles II had come to the throne, he became embittered toward the people of New England for refusing to give up the regicides, Whalley and Goffe, who had assisted in the putting to death of his father. This feeling of the king was heightened by the Massachusetts Declaration of Rights of 1661, which, while professing allegiance to the king, was regarded by him as an encroachment on his authority. This declaration is one of the memorable documents of the colonial era. By it the General Court declared any imposition contrary to their own just laws, not repugnant to the laws of England, "to be an infringement" of their rights. This was aimed, for the most part, at the Navigation Acts. It has the true American ring. Doyle, the British historian, declares that it seems to take us forward a hundred years, and that the "men of 1776 had nothing to add to or take from the words of their ancestors."

Commissioners were sent to the colony in 1664, and a long and fruitless controversy concerning violations of the Navigation Acts and other matters resulted. Massachusetts would probably have lost her charter at this period but for the war between England and Holland. A Dutch fleet had entered the Thames and was threatening London. This enlisted the full energy of the mother country, and New England's liberties continued for some years longer.

But the resentment of Charles against the colonies only



1637 — SIR EDMUND ANDROS — 1714.

**From a photograph owned by William Green Shillaber, Esq., Boston, Mass.,
from the original portrait.**



slumbered; it was not dead. His hands being again free, he opened the old quarrel. Massachusetts was the chief object of his wrath, nor was it difficult for him to find grounds of accusation against the colony: her disregard of the Navigation Acts, her refusal to allow the English Church within the colony, her purchase of the territory of Maine;¹²⁸ and even the independent way in which the New England colonies had managed the Indian war was offensive to the Crown. It must be added, however, that there was a deep-laid scheme in England to destroy the separate colonial governments, and unite all New England, New York, and New Jersey under one government, so as to curb the growing spirit of liberty and to resist more effectually the French aggressions from Canada.

In 1676 Edward Randolph, an officer of King Charles, and an enemy of the colony, arrived in Boston. His complaints to the king of the neglect of the people of the colony to observe the Navigation Acts added fuel to the flame of the monarch's wrath. Randolph set about to build up a more liberal party, with Tory leanings, in Massachusetts; and it must be added, he was to some extent successful. Times had changed somewhat in Massachusetts Bay. The rigid Puritan rule of the preceding generation had softened. The Puritan party in England had waned, and no longer was it able to fight the political battles of its American offspring. Moreover, as men in the colony advanced in wealth and engaged in commerce on the high seas, they were unwilling to incur the displeasure of England. From these

¹²⁸ It was about this time that the heirs of Mason and Gorges laid claim to New Hampshire and Maine, repudiating the dominion of Massachusetts. They won their suit; New Hampshire became a royal province, but Massachusetts purchased Maine of Gorges's heirs for £1250. This act of independence greatly incensed the king.

causes and through the efforts of Randolph a moderate party grew up in Church and State, a party that preferred a moderate course, rather than one of open defiance to the king. The attitude of this party made it easier for the king in his charter-breaking campaign than it would have been had the people of the Bay been a unit in their opposition. But the great majority of the people were not with this new party. The colony as a whole resisted the royal encroachments at every step; but after a long legal struggle of nearly eight years she was forced to give up that noble charter which Winthrop had brought from England fifty-four years before, and which, as the guardian of their liberties, had imbedded itself deeply in the hearts of the people. With the charter went the independent government of Massachusetts, to return no more for a hundred years,¹⁸⁴ when a later generation was to rise in successful rebellion against the mother country.

In the year following this triumph of the Crown King Charles died, and his brother, James II, more tyrannical than himself, began his short and turbulent reign. He sent Sir Edmund Andros, who had made a record as governor of New York and New Jersey, to govern New England and also New York and New Jersey. Andros arrived late in 1686, and made his seat in Boston. The people knew and despised him, nor did his brief administration do aught to redeem his reputation. As a royal officer he was faithful, but he had little respect for the people. Instructed to make laws and levy taxes without a legislative body, by the aid of a council only, he was not slow in carrying out his instructions. He abolished the legislature and laid taxes at his pleasure; he even took from the local town meeting its

¹⁸⁴ Except for two years, 1689-1691.

power of taxing; he sent innocent men to jail and curbed the liberty of the press. This was exasperating in the extreme, but the acme was reached when the despotic governor attacked the titles to the land, pronounced many of them void, and exacted quitrents from the owners.

Andros demanded the charter of Rhode Island, and while the charter itself was placed beyond his reach,¹⁸⁵ the colony yielded readily to his sway. In Connecticut he was strongly opposed, but, appearing in person at Hartford, he demanded the charter. The assembly was in session and Andros present. The session was prolonged till late in the night, when suddenly the lights were put out, as tradition informs us, and Captain Wadsworth seized the precious charter, escaped in the darkness, and hid it in the hollow of an oak tree, ever after known as the Charter Oak.

Andros's reign in New England was that of a despot. As Doyle says, "All those devices of tyranny which England had resisted, even where they were rare and exceptional, were now adopted as part of the regular machinery of government."¹⁸⁶ But there were breakers ahead. The spirit of liberty, fostered by a half century of self-government, could not be crushed in the New England heart. The people waited, and the opportunity came. While Andros was at the height of his power a copy of the declaration of the Prince of Orange to the English people reached the colony. Andros arrested the messenger that brought it, but he could not arrest the wild shout of joy that rang from one settlement to another, from the ocean shore to the river valley. Next came the news of the prince's landing on British soil, and this became the signal for the people to rise in rebellion

¹⁸⁵ Winsor, Vol. III, p. 339.

¹⁸⁶ "English Colonies," Vol. II, p. 305.

against their oppressor. Andros was seized and sent a prisoner to England, and the people again breathed the air of liberty.

Soon after this the old charters of Rhode Island and Connecticut were declared restored, and they continued in operation till long after the Revolution. Massachusetts failed to recover her old charter, but was granted a new one. By this the territory of the colony was greatly extended through the addition of Plymouth, Maine, and Nova Scotia. But the ancient independence was gone. The laws were again to be made and the taxes levied by a legislature elected by the people; but every act must henceforth be sent to England for the royal approval, and henceforth the governor, his deputy and secretary were to be appointments of the Crown. The new charter also opened the door of citizenship, requiring a property test, but no longer a religious test. This feature destroyed forever that intimate union of Church and State that had characterized the first generation in Massachusetts Bay. The Church and State were still united, but the Puritan hierarchy had full control of the government no longer. One feature of this charter—the provision that the council be elected by the retiring council and the assembly—rendered it unlike any other American charter. From this cause Massachusetts is often placed in a class by itself as a semi-royal colony.

Regretfully we take final leave of Plymouth as a separate organization—Plymouth, the oldest of the New England colonies and destined in future ages to be held in memory the most sacred of them all. For seventy-five years the colony had sailed its little boat through storm and sunshine, but from this time its identity must be lost in that of Massa-



1633—KING JAMES II.—1701.

BY JOHN RILEY.

From the original portrait in the National Portrait Gallery, London, England.



chusetts. Of the original band of Pilgrims who had left England in the *Mayflower*, but two remained alive.¹⁸⁷

PURITAN LAWS AND CHARACTER

During the seventeenth century the combined New England colonies formed practically, if we except Rhode Island, one great Puritan commonwealth. They were under separate governments; but their aims and hopes, their laws, for the most part, and their past history were the same.

The people as a whole were liberty-loving in the extreme, but the individual was restrained at every step by laws that no free people of to-day would tolerate for an hour. Paternalism in government was the rule in the other colonies and in Europe, but nowhere was it carried to such an extreme as in New England. Here the civil law laid its hand upon the citizen in his business and social relations; it regulated his religious affairs, it dictated his dress, and even invaded the home circle and directed his family relations. One law forbade the wearing of lace, another of "slashed cloaths other than one slash in each sleeve and another in the back." The length and width of a lady's sleeve were solemnly decided by law. It was a penal offense for a man to wear long hair, or to smoke in the street, or for a youth to court a maid without the consent of her parents. A man was not permitted to kiss his wife in public. Captain Kimble, returning from a three-years' ocean voyage, kissed his wife on his own doorstep and spent two hours in the stocks for his "lewd and unseemly behavior."

¹⁸⁷ The two survivors were John Cooke, who died in 1695, and Mary Cushman, who lived seventy-nine years after the famous voyage, dying in 1699. Mary Cushman, however, was survived by Peregrine White, the child born on the *Mayflower*.

In the matter of education the Puritans stood in the forefront. Many of the clergy were men of classical education, and through their efforts Harvard College was founded but six years after the great exodus began. Before the middle of the century, Massachusetts required every township of fifty families to employ a teacher to educate the young in reading and writing, while every township of one hundred families must maintain a grammar school. The other colonies soon followed with similar requirements.

But the most striking feature in the life of New England is found in its religion. The State was founded on religion, and religion was its life. The entire political, social, and industrial fabric was built on religion. Puritanism was painfully stern and somber; it was founded on the strictest, unmollified Calvinism; it breathed the air of legalism rather than of free grace, and received its inspiration from the Old Testament rather than the New.¹⁸⁸ There was a gleam of truth in the charge of Mrs. Hutchinson that the Puritans lived under a covenant of works. This was because they had not yet fully grasped the whole truth of divine revelation. No further proof of the legalistic tendencies of Puritan worship is needed than a glance at their own laws. A man, for example, was fined, imprisoned, or whipped for non-attendance at church services. He was dealt with still more harshly if he spoke against religion or denied the divine origin of any book of the Bible.¹⁸⁹ Laws were made that

¹⁸⁸ The Puritan conscience was painfully overwrought. Nathan Mather wrote that in his youth he went astray from God and did dreadful things, such as whittling behind the door on Sunday. Sometimes a child would weep and wail in the fear that it was not one of the elect and would go to hell.

¹⁸⁹ But such laws were not peculiar to New England. See the Toleration Act of Maryland, *supra*, p. 111.



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By LAURENS HERMANS ZE BLOCK, 1650.

From an original water-color drawing in the New York Historical Society.



tended to force the conscience, to curb the freedom of the will, and to suppress the natural exuberance of youth—laws that could not have been enacted and enforced by a people who comprehended the full meaning of Gospel liberty, or had caught that keynote of religious freedom sounded by the ancient prophet and resounded by St. Paul and Luther, "The just shall live by faith."

Nevertheless there is no more admirable character in history than the New England Puritan of the seventeenth century. His unswerving devotion to duty, his unlimited courage based on the fear of God, his love of liberty and hatred of tyranny—these are the qualities that have enthroned him in the memory of the American people. We deplore the narrowness and intolerance of the Puritans; but they were less narrow and less intolerant than the English and most of the Europeans of that day. They committed errors, but they were willing to confess them when they saw them. They banished Roger Williams as a disturber of the peace, not for his opinions; but they bore witness to his spotless character. They executed a few Quakers, but confessed their error by repealing their own law. They fell into the witchcraft delusion, which was prevalent throughout Christendom at the time; but they were first to see the dreadful blunder they had made and they were not too proud to publicly confess it. Judge Sewall made, before a large congregation, a confession of his error as only a hero could have done; and he begged the people to pray "that God might not visit his sin upon him, his family, or upon the land." Such was a trait of the Puritan character that leads us to forget his faults and to admire rather than censure him.

New England developed steadily throughout the colonial

era. The people were chiefly of the stanch yeomanry, the great middle class, of England. Many of them were men of fortune and standing in their native land. The people of Massachusetts were slow in reaching out from the seaboard; not till about 1725 did they begin to colonize the Berkshire Hills. The Connecticut Valley was more productive than any other part of New England, and the people of Connecticut were more purely agricultural in their pursuits than were those of any other portion, except New Hampshire. The chief industry of Rhode Island was trade, while Massachusetts was divided, agriculture and commerce holding about equal sway. Six hundred vessels plied between Boston and foreign ports, while the number of coasting vessels was still greater.

Manufacturing was carried on, but not on any great scale. Sawmills and gristmills were numerous along the rivers, and they did a large business in preparing timber and grain for transportation. Hats and paper and other commodities were made on a small scale; but the most extensive manufacturing was carried on by the farmers and their families, who made many of the utensils for their own home use, as will be noticed in a subsequent chapter.

The stern Puritan customs were gradually softened, more rapidly in Massachusetts than in Connecticut, owing to the many Crown officers residing in Boston. The first attempts to introduce the Episcopal form of religion were sternly resisted, but at length it found a footing, though not in Connecticut till well into the eighteenth century. About 1734 a religious revival, started by Jonathan Edwards and carried on by George Whitefield, the evangelist, spread over parts of New England, and to some extent revived the waning Puritan religious fervor.

The population at the opening of the Revolution reached nearly 700,000, about 300,000 of which was in Massachusetts, including Maine. Connecticut contained about 200,000 people, New Hampshire some 75,000, and Rhode Island some 50,000.¹⁴⁰ All the colonies had negro slaves, but very few in comparison with the southern colonies. Probably there were not more than 15,000 slaves in all New England, of whom Massachusetts and Connecticut had the majority. Indented servants were slow in coming to New England, and when they came, their rights were guarded by salutary laws.

¹⁴⁰ See Lodge, p. 408.

CHAPTER VII

COLONIZATION—THE MIDDLE COLONIES

THE nine colonies whose early history we have traced were all established by Englishmen; but we have now to notice one, destined in future to be the most populous and wealthy community of them all, which was founded and controlled for forty years by a different people—the Dutch. The people of Holland,¹⁴¹ after a long and terrible war with Spain, had won religious and political independence. With the fall of the Spanish Armada the naval power of the Dutch began to rise, and by the coming of peace in 1609, the Briton alone could rival the Hollander upon the sea.

The Dutch had taken possession of the Molucca Islands and had seized from Portugal the control of the Indian Ocean. Their navigators were unsurpassed in daring adventure. They traded with the Mongolian of the Orient and introduced the use of tea and coffee into Europe; they sailed around South America and gave Cape Horn its name, around the Cape of Good Hope and planted a colony in South Africa; they discovered, in 1606, the far-away continent of Australia, and later the islands of New Zealand and Tasmania. In their effort to find a northeast passage to China they sailed between Nova Zembla and the North Pole and reached a higher latitude than had ever before been reached by man. Their vessels also plowed the icy waters of

¹⁴¹ Holland was the most important state of the Netherlands, and the term is often used for the whole country.

the Antarctic seas, where they discovered dreary, unpeopled lands where human feet had never been.

As early as 1597 the Dutch made voyages to the West Indies, but it was left for an Englishman in the employ of the Netherlands to make the one and only discovery in the New World by which that nation is remembered. The Dutch East India Company, a great organization trading with the Orient, was exceedingly anxious to find a shorter passage to the China seas. It sent Henry Hudson in search of a northeast passage, but Hudson, after a vain attempt covering several months, turned his little vessel to the waters of the West. The continental character of southern North America was known through the discoveries of De Soto, Coronado, and De Vaca; but the northern portion of that continent was still believed to be an open sea through which a passage to the Orient would yet be found, and it was this delusion of a hundred years that brought Hudson to the western world. He carried with him a letter from his friend, John Smith, with whose exploits in Virginia every reader is familiar. Smith informed Hudson of his exploring the Chesapeake the year before and of his belief that the coveted passage might be found a little farther northward. Hudson now sailed down the New England coast, and in September, 1609, he entered the broad and beautiful river that bears his name. He sailed up the river to the site of Albany, and the impressions he received from the majestic beauty of the palisades, the kindly treatment of the natives, and the many-colored forest, robed in its autumnal foliage, led him to write that it was "as fair a land as was ever trodden by the foot of man."¹⁴²

¹⁴² But Hudson was not the first white man to enter the New York Bay. The bay and river had been discovered by Giovanni Verrazano, a

Hudson had also sailed into Delaware Bay, and in consequence of his discoveries Holland laid claim to the valleys of the Hudson and the Delaware, then called the North and South rivers, and the country between them was named New Netherland. Trading posts were soon established on Manhattan Island and up the Hudson, but nothing was done at this time toward planting a permanent colony.¹⁴⁸ The Dutch West India Company was chartered by the States-General of the Netherlands in 1621. It was a gigantic monopoly (successor to a short-lived company called the New Netherland Company) to which was given control of all Dutch navigation on the coasts of Africa and America. This company was given very extensive commercial and governmental powers, but it was answerable to the home government.

It was three years after the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers Florentine in the employ of the French king, as early as 1524, and again the following year by the Spaniard, Estevan Gomez. After that French vessels frequently ascended the Hudson as far as Albany, trading with the Indians, but their voyages had ceased and were well-nigh forgotten when Hudson rediscovered the river. (See Fiske's "Dutch and Quaker Colonies," Vol. I, p. 68 *sq.*) While Hudson was exploring the Hudson River, Champlain was not far away, exploring the lake that bears his name, and John Smith was bartering with the Indians in the wilderness of Virginia (*ibid.*, p. 96). Hudson, returning, was detained in England by King James, who determined that so great an English voyager should no longer be employed by foreigners. The next year (1610) Hudson set forth in an English ship, and while in the great bay, afterward called by his name, his mutinous crew set him adrift, with his son and a few others, in an open boat, while they returned to England. On arriving, the crew were sent to jail and an expedition sent to search for Hudson, but the great navigator was never again seen nor heard of.

¹⁴⁸ In 1614 Hendrick Christiansen built Fort Orange near the site of Albany. Adrian Block explored Long Island Sound, and Cornelius May sailed into the Delaware Bay. At the same time a few traders had settled on Manhattan Island.

at Plymouth that this company sent a small Dutch vessel, with some thirty families, chiefly Walloons (Dutch word for strangers), Protestant refugees from Belgium, to the mouth of the Hudson. A few of them debarked at Manhattan, but the majority sailed up the Hudson and settled at Fort Nassau, later called Fort Orange, now Albany. Almost simultaneously with this the Dutch built Fort Nassau on the Delaware, just below the present city of Camden, a few Dutch families settled on Long Island, and some Dutch traders established a post on the Connecticut River at the site of Hartford. The Dutch had laid claim to the entire vast region between Chesapeake Bay and Cape Cod, through the discoveries of Hudson and Block, and by these settlements they were making good their claim.

The English also claimed this whole territory; but as the Thirty Years' War was raging in Germany, and the Spanish war cloud was darkening over the British Isles, it was thought best not to make an enemy of Holland. On the other hand, the Dutch and British entered into a defensive alliance against Spain. This continued for several years, during which the Dutch on the Hudson were safe from English interference. At the end of this period came the great internal conflict in England—the strife between Charles I and the Puritans, the Civil War, the execution of the king, the dictatorship of Cromwell—covering in all nearly forty years; and during these forty years the Dutch were left in control of the Hudson Valley; then came the reckoning, as we shall see on a later page.

The first director of the Dutch colonies was Cornelius May; but in 1626 Peter Minuit was appointed to this office, and, arriving at Manhattan, he purchased the entire island of the Indians, some twenty-two thousand acres, for twenty-

four dollars' worth of beads and ribbons. Perhaps no other equal area in the world is now worth so vast a sum of money as Manhattan Island. Minuit built a fort at the southern point and called it

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Thus began the great metropolis of the New World, now New York City. The government of the new colony was carried on by Governor, or "Director General," Minuit and a council of five appointed by the company in Holland. It was very similar to the government of Virginia before the first House of Burgesses was elected. The people had no voice whatever in their own government. Because of this and of the fact that in Holland the people enjoyed peace and religious liberty the migration was slow, and at the end of five years but three hundred people lived on Manhattan Island. The company thereupon offered great inducements to attract colonists. It issued its charter of "privileges and exemptions" (1629), by which the patroon system was established. Under this system any member of the West India Company who would bring or send at least fifty settlers fifteen years of age or over was granted an estate of sixteen miles frontage on one side of a river or bay, or eight miles on each side of a river, and as far inland "as the situation of the occupiers will admit." The Hudson Valley was soon dotted with these estates, and thus was planted in America a feudal system very similar to those of the Old World.¹⁴⁴ The patroon was bound to provide a farm ready stocked for each of his tenants, and to provide a schoolmaster and minister of the gospel for each settlement. He had full control

¹⁴⁴ The patroons also made settlements on the Delaware, but these did not flourish and were short-lived.

of the government and courts. The tenants were temporarily serfs, as they were obliged to remain on the land for ten years. They were also obliged to sell their produce to the patroon, to grind their corn at his mill, and, after a certain time, to pay him a small annual rent. The most noted of the patroons became the founders of the great families, afterward so prominent in New York—the Van Rensselaers, the Schuylers, the Livingstons, and others.¹⁴⁵ The company and patroons were soon quarreling, and the dispute was carried to the States-General. One result was the recall of Minuit, who was accused of favoring the patroons. He was succeeded by Wouter van Twiller, who, after five years of misrule, in which he enriched himself and wasted the company's money, was recalled. William Kieft then became governor.

Up to this time New Netherland had not attracted the home seeker. The best land had been occupied by the patroons, and the settlers were scarcely more than servants. The company had held, or attempted to hold, the monopoly of the fur trade. But now the trade, as also the cultivation of the soil, was thrown open to all, while the patroon privileges were greatly restricted. The effect was magical. People came from New England; Redemptioners¹⁴⁶ from Maryland and Virginia; peasant farmers from continental

¹⁴⁵ These great estates, transmitted from generation to generation, were held in the same families for more than two centuries. The law of primogeniture being abolished at the time of the Revolution, a form of deed was contrived which enabled the proprietors to collect rents almost as before. On the death, in 1839, of Stephen van Rensselaer, one of the greatest landholders, his tenants refused to pay rent to his successor, and hence arose the anti-rent riots in New York. The courts decided in favor of the tenants in 1852.

¹⁴⁶ Redemptioners were persons who were sold into service for a certain number of years as payment for their passage across the sea.

Europe; the rich and the educated, as well as the poor, from various parts of the world came, though not in large numbers, to the valley of the Hudson, and made it their permanent home. It is said that in 1643 no less than eighteen languages were spoken in New Amsterdam—and the great city into which it has grown has never since lost its cosmopolitan character.

✓ Kieft was a bustling, energetic man, but he was an autocrat and a tyrant. He was governor for about ten years and they were years of storm and disorder. He quarreled with the Swedes on the Delaware, with the English on the Connecticut, and with the Indians on all sides. Before his time the Dutch had lived at peace with the Indians and had profited greatly by the fur trade; but Kieft was wanting in discretion and capacity, and disastrous Indian wars marked his governorship.

When about to engage in an Indian war this autocratic ruler found it necessary to consult the people. He thereupon called an assembly of the heads of families, and these chose a board of Twelve Men, with De Vries, one of the best men in the colony, as its chairman, to advise with the governor. This improvised Parliament authorized the raising of money for the war and demanded that the people be permitted to elect the governor's council. Kieft agreed reluctantly, but soon forgot his promise and resumed his despotic rule. His treacherous policy with the Indians caused a general uprising of the Algonquin tribes and many were the bloody massacres in the country around. Among the victims was Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, who had been driven from Massachusetts, with all her large family, except a little granddaughter who

Many of these, on gaining their freedom, preferred to remove to another colony, away from the scenes of their servitude.

was made captive. The very existence of the Dutch colony now hung in the balance, and it might have been annihilated but for the coming of an Englishman from Massachusetts—John Underhill, hero of the Pequot War. Underhill, with an army of one hundred and fifty brave Dutchmen, fell at midnight on the Indian stronghold in the mountains north of Stamford, and put seven hundred warriors to the sword before daybreak. This broke the Indian power, brought peace, and saved the colony of New Netherland.

But peace did not come to the hot-headed governor. Again he was obliged to call an assembly—Eight Men this time. But no more could he agree with them than formerly with the Twelve Men. When they protested against his methods of taxation, he lost his temper. "In this country I am my own master and may do as I please," said the irate Kieft. But the people were exasperated and in their behalf the Eight Men appealed to the States-General. They blamed Kieft for the pitiful condition of the colony, begged that a new governor be sent them and that the people be given some voice in the government, or that they be permitted to return with their wives and children to their dear fatherland. This petition had some effect. Governor Kieft was dismissed by the company, and Peter Stuyvesant, the last and most famous of the Dutch governors, became his successor. Kieft sailed for Holland, but the vessel was wrecked at sea, and the fallen governor was among the lost.

Stuyvesant was a sturdy, self-willed, obstinate old fellow, with little culture and much strength of character. He was a man of great energy and no doubt his intentions were honorable; but he was a born autocrat, had no sympathy with democracy and no power to read public opinion. He was an experienced soldier and had lost a leg in battle.

With all his faults he was a vast improvement over Van Twiller and Kieft. But he was never popular, and on one occasion the people demanded his recall, but the company refused to grant their request.

The government of New Netherland had been thus far almost a despotism, and its chief object in existing was to enrich a company of traders. But the settlers now determined to demand their rights—a share in their own government. The more were they urged to this step when they compared their own condition to that of the self-governing English colonies about them. The haughty* governor was forced to yield, and he chose Nine Men as his counselors, from a large number selected by the people. These men protested against the high taxes and the heavy export duties, and they petitioned the home government to cancel the company's charter and grant the colony a representative government similar to that enjoyed by the people in Holland. The petition for popular government was reluctantly granted by the company; but so skillfully did the imperious old governor manage the election that he succeeded in retaining almost the entire governing power in his own hands. When the iron-willed governor at length permitted an assembly of delegates from a number of the towns to convene, he sat with them in the legislative hall, where the loud stamping of his wooden leg on the floor warned them when matters were not going as he desired. After a session of but four days he dissolved the assembly, and for ten years (1653-1663) there was no meeting of the representatives of the people.

The population of New Netherland increased slowly till 1653, when there were two thousand residents, eight hundred of whom belonged to New Amsterdam, which had been



1602—PETER STUYVESANT—1682.

**From the original portrait in the New York Historical Society owned by
Robert Van Rensselaer Stuyvesant, Esq.**



incorporated that year. About this time a book describing the colony was published in Holland, and it created a great interest among all classes. From this time a stream of emigration poured into the Hudson Valley, and by 1664 the population reached ten thousand, having increased fivefold in eleven years.

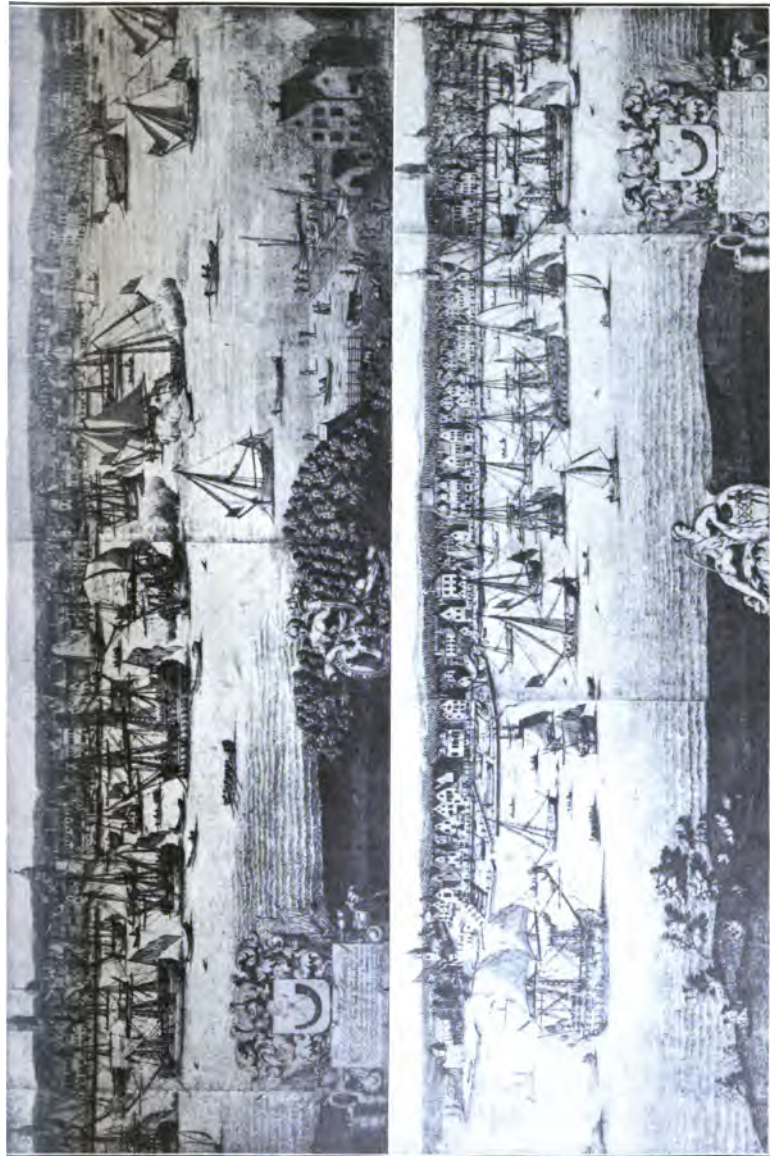
Governor Stuyvesant, however, is remembered more on account of his relations to the English and the Swedes than for his domestic affairs. After two or three years' dispute with the people of New England, he agreed with them to fix the western boundary of Connecticut about where it now is, and the Dutch from this time ceased to disturb the peace of the Connecticut Valley. But of greater importance was Stuyvesant's dealing with the Swedes who had settled on the Delaware about the time that Kieft became governor of New Netherland. Both banks of the Delaware were claimed by the Dutch, and Stuyvesant received authority from Holland to take possession of the Swedish settlement. In 1655 he entered the Delaware with six hundred men in seven ships. The Swedes had no power to resist such a force; they yielded readily, and New Sweden passed into the hands of the Dutch.

The governor, returning home, found his people engaged in an Indian war, brought about by a Manhattan Dutchman, who shot a squaw for stealing peaches from his orchard. He soon brought it to an end, but the Indians were restless, and in 1658 the war again broke out and continued at intervals for five years.

Meantime Stuyvesant turned his attention to religious matters; he determined to enforce uniformity of worship according to the Dutch Reformed Church. He persecuted Lutherans, Baptists, and Quakers without mercy, until pub-

Spain to refute her claims to North America; it was another story when applied to the English concerning the Hudson Valley. But the English deftly evaded the difficulty, to their own satisfaction, by claiming that the Hudson Valley was part of Virginia as given by James I, in 1606, to two companies. This tract had been settled at both ends,—on the James River and the New England coast,—and why should a foreign power claim the central portion because not yet occupied? Thus argued the English, and their argument won because sustained by force of arms. And yet, the providential hand may easily be seen. The conquest of New Netherland was scarcely less important than was the conquest of New France, a century later, on the Plains of Abraham. It all belonged to the preparation—not for British dominion in North America, but for the dominion of future generations that were to occupy the land. Before their power England was yet to go down, as New Netherland and New France first went down before hers. Thus England, all unwittingly, became the instrument in preparing the way and fighting the battles for a nation that was yet to be born.

It is interesting to note the later career of Peter Stuyvesant. After a journey to the fatherland to vindicate his course, he returned to New York and made it the home of his old age. Here on his farm, or "bowery," now bounded by Fourth Avenue and the East River, by Sixth and Seventeenth Streets, New York City, amid the scenes of his former strife and turmoil, he spent a few quiet, happy years. A venerable figure was the aged Dutchman, and many who had hated him before now learned to love him. He and Governor Nicolls became warm friends, and many a time they met and drank wine and told stories at each other's



A SOUTH PROSPECT OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

By WILLIAM BURGIS, 1717.

From a print in the New York Historical Society.



table. In 1672 this last of the Dutch governors died at the ripe old age of eighty years, and his body was laid to rest at the little country church near his home—at a spot now in the heart of the vast metropolis, whose population is ten times greater than that of all the North American colonies of that day.

A short war between England and Holland followed the conquest of Nicolls, and the Dutch sailed up the Thames River and visited fearful punishment on the English, though they did not win back New York. But nine years after the Nicolls victory, we may say by anticipation, the two nations were again at war, and a Dutch fleet reconquered New York and took possession of the Hudson Valley; but by the treaty of peace the next year the country was ceded back to the English, and Dutch rule ceased forever in North America.

At the time of the Nicolls conquest the little city at the southern point of Manhattan contained some fifteen hundred people, and the whole province about ten thousand, one third of whom were English. The colony now became a proprietary colony, but as the proprietor afterward became king of England, it was transferred to the list of royal colonies. Nicolls became the first governor. He was able and conscientious. The rights of property, of citizenship, and of religious liberty had been guaranteed in the terms of capitulation. To these were added at a later date equal taxation and trial by jury. In one year the tact and energy of Nicolls had transformed the province practically into an English colony. After four years of successful rule Nicolls returned to England—and a few years later, as he stood by the side of his master, the Duke of York, at the battle of Solebay, his body was torn to pieces by a cannon ball.

The English inhabitants of New York had gladly wel-

comed the change of government, and even the Dutch had made little resistance, as they were tired of the tyrannical rule of the company. If there was any bitterness against English rule remaining, it was wholly removed in 1677 by an event of great importance to both hemispheres—the marriage of the leading Hollander of his times, the Prince of Orange, to the daughter of the Duke of York, the two afterward to become joint sovereigns of England as William and Mary.

It is interesting to note here the transition in this colony from Dutch to English rule. It has been asserted by a few writers that our institutions are derived from Dutch more than from English sources; but a little study into this subject will easily prove the contrary. The people over whom Nicolls became governor in 1664 were composed of three separate communities, each different from the others in its government; the Dutch settlers on the Hudson, the settlements on the Delaware, and the English towns that had grown up under Dutch rule on Long Island. Now these English towns during the period of the Dutch supremacy enjoyed far more liberal local government than did the Dutch towns on the Hudson. And in this one respect Kieft, who encouraged popular government among the English towns, was wiser than Stuyvesant, who opposed it.¹⁴⁷ These English towns held their popular meetings, chose their officials, and transacted other business after the manner of the New England towns; while in the Dutch towns there were no town meetings, no popular elections, the ruling officials forming a kind of close corporation with power to fill all vacancies and choose their own successors. As to which of

¹⁴⁷ See McKinley, in *American Historical Review*, Vol. VI, p. 18.

these types came nearer being the model for our local government of to-day, no reader need be informed.

When Nicolls became governor he made little immediate change in the general or local government except to adopt English titles for the public officers. To understand this two things must be remembered. First, the charter for New York, true to the Stuart instinct, made the Duke of York absolute master, and it made no provision for the people to take any part in their own government; second, it was practically such a government that Nicolls already found in New Amsterdam. With a ready-made machine at hand, why should he take the trouble to make a new one? He proceeded, however, to frame a code of laws known as "The Duke's Laws." These were intended at first for the English settlers only, but were later extended to all. This code was borrowed largely from the laws of New England, with the two important omissions that there was no provision for the people to take any part in the government, and that there was no religious test for citizenship. It retained many Dutch features, and introduced a few new features. To the Court of Assizes, consisting of governor and council, sheriff and justice, was assigned the legislative and judicial power; but as the sheriff and justices were appointees of the governor, there was no popular government in the plan.

But this plan did not prove permanent. The English portion of the colony clamored for representative government. The agitation continued until 1681, Edmund Andros being then governor, when the English population was ready to break into open rebellion, unless their demand for an assembly be granted. Accordingly the next year the duke promised the people an assembly, and the first one was elected in 1683, while Thomas Dongan was governor. This

assembly, composed of eighteen men elected by the people, now proceeded to adopt a declaration of rights known as the "Charter of Liberties," by which it declared the representatives of the people coördinate with the governor and council, and that no taxes could be laid without their consent. It also provided that all laws be subject to the duke's approval.

What might have been the fate of this charter under normal conditions we know not, as the conditions were suddenly changed. The duke's royal brother was suddenly carried off by a stroke of apoplexy, and the duke became king of England as James II. New York now became a royal colony, and the new king, who at heart despised popular government, refused to sign the Charter of Liberties, abolished the New York assembly, and sent Andros to govern the colony as consolidated with New England and New Jersey. Andros, with a council of seven men, was to govern nine colonies as a conquered province. We have noticed his career in Boston and need not repeat it here. The fall of his master from the British throne occasioned the immediate fall of Andros; but this did not bring immediate peace to New York. The colony was now about to pass through another exciting experience.

But first, a further word is here in place concerning the sources of our present governmental system. Mr. Douglas Campbell, in two large volumes entitled "The Puritan in England, Holland, and America," has taken great pains to show that we are indebted far more to Dutch than to English sources for our system, and his attempt to prove too much leads the critical reader to believe too little.

~ It is true that the English race is more nearly related to the Dutch than to any other, and the English language resembles the Dutch language more than any other. It is also



EDWARD HYDE, LORD CORNBURY—1723.

From the original portrait in possession of Edward Partington, Esq., Droitwich, England.



true that the Netherlands preceded England in securing religious liberty and in establishing free public schools; that the manufacturing of textile fabrics developed in Flanders earlier than in the island kingdom across the channel, where it grew up later largely through the migration of skilled workmen from the Netherlands; that many thousands of Dutchmen and Flemings, driven from their country by religious wars, made their permanent home in England. From these facts it will be seen that the influence of Netherlands institutions on English civilization must have been great; and it was probably still greater on American civilization, because the Dutch immigrants to England nearly all became Puritans, and there is no doubt that Dutch blood coursed in the veins of a large per cent of the New England Puritans.¹⁴⁸ No doubt also the Pilgrim Fathers absorbed something from the Dutch during their sojourn in Leyden.

But when all is said on this side it must be added, on the other, that in the seventeenth century English popular self-government was ages in advance of the same in the Netherlands. No better proof of this is needed than a glance at the colony of New York. It was the English towns, even under Dutch jurisdiction, that demanded and received a large measure of self-government; it was the first English governor that extended that great bulwark of Anglo-Saxon liberty, the jury system, to the Dutch settlers, who at first shunned it as a thing to be feared; it was the English population of the colony that clamored for their birthright—an assembly and the power of taxation. During all this period the Dutch settlers in the main were passive in matters of popular government, and but for the coming of the English and the overthrow of Stuyvesant and his nation, New Neth-

¹⁴⁸ Fiske's "Dutch and Quaker Colonies," Vol. I, p. 47.

erland might have remained as despotic a government as was New France. Moreover, the New England free school system grew, not from Dutch models, but from the inherent character of the Puritan religion. In the face of these facts, how can Mr. Campbell or any one contend that our institutions of to-day are derived from Dutch rather than from English sources?

News of the accession of William and Mary and of the imprisonment of Andros at Boston created a great excitement in New York; and the militia, led by Jacob Leisler, a German merchant, took possession of the government. For two years Leisler, with the aid of his son-in-law, Milborne, governed the colony with vigor and energy. But he offended the aristocracy and the magistrates, who pronounced him a usurper. Meantime he took measures to defend the colony against the French and Indians, who had fallen on the frontier town of Schenectady, had massacred the people, and had burned the town.

The Leisler movement was in part the outgrowth of the anti-Catholic wave that swept over England and her colonies during the reign of James II, and Leisler's vivid imagination greatly magnified the danger of a general religious war. He called for the election of an assembly to vote taxes for the pending war with Canada, but many of the people denied his authority and refused to respond.

Leisler's next step was one that marked the beginnings of great things. He called for a meeting in New York of delegates from all the colonies to make preparations for the war, and the seven delegates that met, chiefly from New England, constituted the first colonial congress in America. They took counsel concerning the war, which will be noticed in our chapter on Colonial Wars. The clouds were now

darkening around the head of Leisler, and his career was almost over.

In 1691 Henry Sloughter was appointed governor, and he sent his lieutenant before him to demand the surrender of the fort. But the lieutenant could not prove his authority, and Leisler refused to surrender. At length, when Sloughter arrived, Leisler yielded to his authority and quiet was soon restored. But Leisler's enemies were determined on his destruction. He and his son-in-law had been cast into prison, and Governor Sloughter, a weak and worthless man, was induced to sign their death warrants while drunk, tradition informs us. Before the governor had fully recovered his senses, Leisler and Milborne were taken from the prison and hanged. Leisler had doubtless been legally in the wrong in seizing the government; but his intentions were undoubtedly good, and his execution, after all danger was past, was little else than political murder, and it created two hostile factions in New York that continued for many years.

With the passing of Leisler the royal government was restored, and the people for the first time secured the permanent right to take part in their government, as in the other colonies, and, as in the others, the assembly steadily gained power at the expense of the governor. The royal governors sent to New York were, for the most part, men without principle or interest in the welfare of the people. A rare exception we find in the Earl of Bellomont, whose brief three years at the close of the century as governor of New York, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire were all too brief for the people, who had learned to love him as few royal governors were loved. His successor, Lord Cornbury, was probably the most dissolute rascal ever sent to govern an

American colony, not even excepting the infamous Sothel of the Carolinas.

An event of great interest occurred in New York in 1735, known as the Zenger case. Governor Cosby had entered suit before the Supreme Court of New York to obtain a sum of money and had lost. He then removed the judge and appointed a new one, and thus offended the popular party. Peter Zenger, the publisher of a newspaper, the *New York Weekly Journal*, attacked the governor through its columns and severely criticised his action. The governor was enraged at these attacks, and he ordered the paper burned and the editor arrested for libel.

At the trial, Zenger was defended by Andrew Hamilton of Philadelphia, the greatest lawyer in America. The justice of the cause and the eloquence of Hamilton won the jury, and resulted in a complete victory for the accused editor. This was the first important victory for liberty of the press in America, and with little variation this liberty has been held inviolate from that time to the present.

A few years after Zenger's case had been disposed of, New York society was greatly convulsed by the so-called Negro Plot. This was a craze similar to the witchcraft delusion which had swept over Massachusetts half a century before. It had its origin in a general belief that the Spanish Catholic priests, in league with the slave population, were planning to burn the city. The craze spread like an epidemic; the whole community went mad, and before the storm abated, twenty-two persons, four of whom were whites, had been hanged, thirteen negroes burnt at the stake, and a large number transported. The craze soon passed away and the people recovered their normal senses. The account of this affair constitutes the most deplorable chapter in the history



1599—SIR GEORGE CARTERET, BT.—1679.

BY SIR PETER LELY.

From the original portrait in possession of Francis John Thynne, Esq., Bedford, England.



of New York. It is now believed that no plot to burn the city existed, and that every one who suffered on account of the delusion was innocent.

The province of New York grew steadily to the time of the Revolution. Every decade witnessed the coming of home seekers in large numbers to the valley of the Hudson. French Protestants, Scotch, Irish, Scotch-Irish, refugees from the Rhenish palatinate, and others settled in the beautiful river valleys; but the great majority of the people were English and Dutch. By 1750 the population was probably eighty thousand and this number was more than doubled by the opening years of the Revolution.

New York City was a busy mart indeed, containing some twelve thousand people in 1750, and more than five hundred vessels, great and small, plowed the waters that half surrounded it. The city was the political, social, and business center of the province. Among its leading figures in winter were great landholders of the Hudson Valley and Long Island, who spent their summers on their estates. But the great middle class, composed chiefly of tradesmen of every grade, made up the majority of the population.

NEW JERSEY

The first settlements in New Jersey were made by the Dutch along the western bank of the Hudson, with one on the Delaware at Fort Nassau; but these settlements were insignificant, and the history of the colony properly begins with the occupation of the territory by the English. New Jersey was included in the grant of Charles II to his brother James, the Duke of York, in 1664. The same year James disposed of the province to two of his friends, Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, and it was named New Jersey

in honor of the latter, who had been governor of the island of Jersey in the English Channel. The next year Carteret began to colonize his new possessions. He sent his nephew, Philip Carteret, as governor, who, with a company of emigrants, made the first settlement at Elizabethtown, so named in honor of Sir George's wife. A still larger number came from New England, especially from New Haven, because of the great dissatisfaction in that colony with its forced union with Connecticut. These Puritans founded Newark and adjacent towns.

Carteret granted a form of government in what was known as the "Concessions," which granted religious liberty to Englishmen in the new colony, and a government to be carried on by a governor, council, and an assembly of twelve to be chosen by the people, and no taxes were to be laid without the consent of the assembly. A farm, free for five years, was offered to any one "having a good musket . . . and six months' provisions,"¹⁴⁰ who should embark with the governor, or meet him on his arrival; while those who came later were to pay a half-penny an acre quitrent. The first assembly met in 1668, and the severity of the code of laws adopted plainly indicated the Puritan domination of the colony. After a session of but five days it adjourned, and met no more for seven years. The first quitrents fell due in 1670; but many of the settlers refused to pay rent, claiming to have received their lands from the Indians, the real owners, or basing their right to titles confirmed by Governor Nicolls of New York. The people rose in rebellion, elected an illegal assembly, and called James Carteret,

¹⁴⁰ One seventh of the land was to be reserved for the proprietors and two hundred acres in each parish for the minister. See Winsor, Vol. III, p. 424.

illegitimate son of the proprietor, to be their governor. But Sir George did not sustain his son, and the rebellious government fell to the ground.

The settlers, however, quietly tilled their farms and gave little heed to matters of government. Not even the reconquest of New York (which included New Jersey) by the Dutch, in 1673, caused any serious disturbance of the New Jersey farmers. The constant commotion between Carteret and his colony discouraged Lord Berkeley, and he sold his interest in the province to two English Quakers, John Fenwick and Edward Byllynge. The latter soon became a bankrupt, and his share passed into the hands of trustees, the most prominent of whom was William Penn—and thus we are introduced to the most famous of American colony builders.

The province was soon after this divided into two parts: East Jersey, which was retained by Carteret, and West Jersey, which now became the property of the Quakers. The line between them was drawn directly from Little Egg Harbor to the Delaware Water Gap. The year before the division Fenwick had led a few colonists and settled at Salem, but the first important settlement in West Jersey was made in 1677, when two hundred and thirty people sailed up the Delaware and founded Burlington, and within two years several hundred more had made their homes in the vicinity. Two wholly separate governments were now set up, and they were as different as white from black. The stern New England Puritans had settled in East Jersey in sufficient numbers to give coloring to the laws, and in these laws (enacted by the first assembly before the division) we find enumerated thirteen crimes for which the penalty was death. In West Jersey the government was exceedingly mild. A

code of laws with the name of Penn at the top gave all power to the people, and made no mention of capital punishment. This was the first example of Quaker legislation in America.

When Edmund Andros was governor of New York, in the later seventies, he claimed authority over the Jerseys also, as the property of the Duke of York. He arrested and imprisoned Governor Philip Carteret of East Jersey, but the courts decided against Andros, and the Jerseys continued their own separate existence.

In 1680 George Carteret died, and two years later East Jersey was sold at auction to twelve men, one of whom was William Penn.¹⁸⁰ Each of these twelve men sold half his interest to another man, and thus East Jersey came to have twenty-four proprietors, and they chose Robert Barclay, a Scotch Quaker, governor for life. Everything went smoothly under their mild government; but this tranquillity was soon to end.

When James II became king of England he demanded the charters of the Jerseys on writs of *quo warranto*, leaving the ownership of the soil to the people, and united East and West Jersey to New York and New England under the government of Andros. At the fall of the king and the expulsion of Andros the Jerseys were left in a state of anarchy, and so it continued for more than ten years. The heirs of Carteret and the Quakers laid claim to the colony; and New York made a similar claim. After a long season of confusion it was decided to surrender the whole colony to the Crown, and in 1702 New Jersey became a royal province. Queen Anne, who was now the reigning monarch, extended the jurisdiction of New York's governor over New Jersey,

¹⁸⁰ The price paid was £3400 sterling.

*Universal History vol. 5. page 689. the Emperor Tobias directed
 the Son of Nabuchodonosor not to suffer any person to be persecuted for
 speaking Divine truth fully of himself or others. In power his predecessors
 saying - if they had not my character rendered hardly they might rather be
 punished than persecuted - If I perceived it would be a lasting piece
 of Justice to punish them for speaking truth. - (See also L. LVIII
 page 354)*

A brief Narrative of the Case and Try- al of John Peter Zenger, Printer of the New-York weekly Journal.

AS There was but one Printer in the Province of New-York, that printed a publick News-Paper, I was in Hopes, if I undertook to publish another, I might make it worth my while; and I soon found my Hopes were not groundless: My first Paper was printed, Nov. 5th, 1733. and I continued printing and publishing of them, I thought to the Satisfaction of every Body, till the January following; when the Chief Justice was pleased to animadvert upon the Doctrine of Libels, in a long Charge given in that Term to the Grand Jury, and afterwards on the third Tuesday of October, 1734. was again pleased to charge the Grand Jury in the following Words.

'Gentlemen; I shall conclude with reading a Paragraph or two out of the same Book, concerning Libels; they are arrived to that Height, that they call loudly for your Animadversion; it is high Time to put a Stop to them; for at the rate Things are now carried on, when all Order and Government is endeavoured to be trampled on; Reflections are cast upon Persons of all Degrees, must not these Things end in Sedition, if not timely prevented? Lenity, you have seen will not avail, it becomes you then to enquire after the Offenders, that we may in a due Course of Law be enabled to punish them. If you, Gentlemen, do not interpose, consider whether the ill Consequences that may arise from any Disturbances of the publick Peace, may not in part, lye at your Door?

'Hawkins, in his Chapter of Libels, considers three Points, 1st. *What shall be said to be a Libel.* 2dly. *Who are liable to be punished for it.* 3dly. *In what Manner they are to be punished.* Under the 1st. he says, §. 7. *Nor can there be any Doubt, but that a Writing which defames a private Person only, is as much as a Libel as that which defames Persons intrusted in a publick Capacity, in as much as it manifestly tends to create ill Blood, and to cause a Disturbance of the publick Peace; however, it is certain, that it is a very high Aggravation of a Libel, that it tends to scandalize the Government, by reflecting on those who are entrusted with the Administration of publick Affairs, which does not only endanger the publick Peace, as all other Libels do, by stirring up the Parties immediately concerned in it, to Acts of Revenge, but also has a direct Tendency to breed in the People a Dislike of their Governours, and incline them to Faction and Sedition.* As to the 2d. Point he says, §. 10. *It is certain, not only he who composes or procures another to compose it, but also that he who publishes, or procures another to publish it, are in Danger of being punished for it; and it is said not to be material whether he who disperses a Libel, knew any Thing of the Contents or Effects of it or not; for nothing could be more easy*



and this arrangement continued for thirty-six years, when, in 1738, the two colonies were finally separated.

New Jersey, numbering some seventy-five thousand inhabitants in 1760, was settled almost wholly by English people. A few Dutch, Swedes, and Germans were scattered here and there, but not in such numbers as to affect society. The Quakers occupied the western part, while the eastern portion was settled by emigrants from England, New England, and a few from Scotland and the southern colonies. Almost the entire population were farmers. The numerous towns were little more than centers of farming communities. The colony was guarded, as it were, on the east and west by the two great colonies of New York and Pennsylvania, and it escaped those peculiar perils of frontier life with which most of the other settlements had to contend. This was doubtless the chief cause of its rapid growth. New Jersey was also singularly free from Indian wars, the people living on the most friendly terms with the red men, with whom they kept up a profitable trade in furs and game.

DELAWARE

The soil of the little state of Delaware had more claimants than that of any other of the thirteen original colonies. It lies along the great bay and river of the same name, and its importance consisted in its command of these and of the great fertile valley drained by them. It was first claimed by the Dutch by right of the discovery of Hudson, next by the Swedes, who made the first permanent settlement, and finally it came into the possession of the English. Among the English, Delaware was claimed by Lord Baltimore as part of Maryland; it next became the property of the Duke of York, was sold by him to William Penn, and only after the Revolu-

tion did the inhabitants of Delaware become the owners. Of the original thirteen states Delaware was the only one except New York that was founded by another than the English race.

The first settlement in the territory that afterward became Delaware was made by the Dutch in 1631, who were sent by De Vries, a noted Dutch colonizer and one of the patroons of New Amsterdam. Between thirty and forty colonists settled on the Delaware Bay near the site of Lewes, but they were led into a foolish quarrel with the Indians and were massacred to the last man. The quarrel began from a most trivial cause. The Dutch had set up a tin plate bearing the arms of Holland. An Indian, without knowing its meaning, thoughtlessly destroyed it. The Dutch considered this an insult to their nation and demanded that the offender be given up. Thus began the trouble which resulted in the destruction of the whole colony. When De Vries came the following year to visit his colony, he found nothing but heaps of ashes and charred bones.

Even before this unfortunate occurrence the Swedes, under the guidance of the greatest of Sweden's kings, Gustavus Adolphus, were planning to colonize the western bank of the Delaware.¹⁸¹ It was resolved to "invite colonists from all the other nations of Europe," to exclude slavery, and to make the colony a home for the oppressed of all Christendom. The Swedish king incorporated a company in 1627,

¹⁸¹ See Bancroft, Vol. II, p. 502. William Usselinx, a Hollander and one of the founders of the Dutch West India Company, was the first to lead Sweden into this enterprise. Refused a charter by his own country, he turned to Sweden and became one of the projectors of the new company. Sweden's only right to American soil lay in the assumption that unappropriated lands were common property. See Jameson, in American Historical Association Papers, II.

took a deep interest in the project, and pronounced it "the jewel of his kingdom."

But the Thirty Years' War was raging in Germany and Gustavus Adolphus determined to invade that country in defense of Protestantism. In 1632, at the battle of Lutzen, his great life came to a close, and Swedish colonizing in America was checked, but not abandoned. The fortunes of Sweden now fell into the hands of Oxenstiern, the executor and chief minister of the dead king. Oxenstiern, one of the greatest statesmen of his time and scarcely less able than his fallen chief, now renewed the patent of the company, extended its benefits to Germany, and secured the services of Peter Minuit, former governor of New Amsterdam, to lead his colony to the New World.

In two vessels the colonists sailed, and they reached New Sweden, as they called the new land, early in the year 1638. They built a fort on the site of Wilmington and named it Christina after the child queen of their native land. They purchased lands of the Indians on the western side of the Delaware as far up as a point opposite Trenton, founded a town on the site of Philadelphia, built churches here and there, and soon presented the appearance of a happy and prosperous community. But trouble soon came. The Dutch claimed the entire Delaware Valley as part of New Netherland and Governor Kieft protested vigorously at the time the Swedes made their settlement; but Sweden was too powerful a nation at that time to be defied, and the colony was left for the time unmolested.

New Sweden grew by immigration and spread over the surrounding country. John Printz, one of the early governors, made his headquarters on the island of Tinicum, twelve miles below Philadelphia, drove from the Delaware

Bay a band of would-be settlers from New England, and displayed an aggressive spirit in general. It seemed for a time that the whole Delaware Valley would be settled and held by the Scandinavians. But the Dutch were jealous; they came and built Fort Casimir where New Castle now stands, and thus got control of the bay. Soon, however, a Swedish war vessel entered the bay and put an end to the Dutch fort. The blustering Stuyvesant was now governor of New Amsterdam, and he determined to avenge the insult and put an end to New Sweden. He entered the bay with a fleet bearing over six hundred men. The Swedes, who numbered but seven hundred in all, were overawed, and New Sweden, which had existed seventeen years, ceased to exist as a separate colony. The people, however, were permitted to retain possession of their farms, and the community continued to prosper under its new government. The Swedes eventually scattered to various parts and lost their identity and their language; but, like the Huguenots and the Salzburgers, they infused an element of strength into the veins of the future American.

The conquest of New Amsterdam by the English, in 1664, included Delaware, which now became the property of the Duke of York. The Duke's Laws, framed by Nicolls for New York, were at length extended to Delaware, and the people were granted some measure of self-government. In 1682, however, the year of the founding of Pennsylvania, the duke sold Delaware to William Penn, and the colony, which came to be called the "Three Lower Counties," or the "Territories," was the same year annexed to Pennsylvania. From this time it was in possession of the Penns and had no separate governor. Though the colony secured a separate legislature in 1702, under a charter of privileges granted by

Penn, its history to the time of the Revolution was identified with that of its great neighbor to the north.

PENNSYLVANIA

The idea of founding a separate colony in America as a refuge for persecuted Quakers was not original with William Penn, but with George Fox, the founder of the sect. Fox was a man of intense religious fervor and of wonderful personal magnetism. Greatly troubled in conscience, he sought rest for his unquiet soul in the Established Church, then among the Dissenters, and finally, after a most diligent study of the Bible, he felt that the "inner light" had dawned upon him, and he went forth to preach to the world. He began preaching at the age of twenty years, in 1644, the year in which William Penn was born. His sincerity was unquestioned and his fervor was contagious; he became the founder of a sect, the prime factor of one of the greatest religious movements of the seventeenth century. The times seemed ripe for such an awakening, and within forty years from the time that Fox began preaching his followers numbered seventy thousand.

The Quakers refused to recognize all social ranks, or to pay taxes to carry on wars, and they met with great opposition from the beginning; their meetings were often dispersed by armed men; an act of Parliament pronounced them a "mischievous and dangerous people." It was not long until the Quakers, driven by persecution, began to migrate to America. Their reception in Massachusetts and elsewhere was anything but cordial, and this led them to turn their attention to founding a colony of their own. Most of the followers of Fox were from the lower walks of life, and they were greatly elated when the talented young son of

Admiral Penn, a personal friend of the king, became an open convert to their society. The admiral at first stormed at his son for taking this step. The king was about to raise the elder Penn to the peerage, but when he heard that the son had become a Quaker, he drew back. This increased the fury of the father against his son. But his anger was short-lived; he at length forgave him, and William Penn soon became the most prominent Quaker in England. His experience in New Jersey we have noted; but owing to the various contentions of that colony with New York and to the want of clear land titles, home seekers were rather repelled than invited, and Penn cast a wistful eye to the fair lands beyond the Delaware.

The king of England was indebted to Admiral Penn to the sum of £16,000, and William Penn, on the death of his father, inherited the claim. At Penn's request King Charles granted him, in payment of this claim, a tract of forty thousand square miles in America. In the petition to the king, dated June, 1680, Penn asked for the territory west of the Delaware River and from the northern boundary of Maryland to the north "as far as plantable, which is altogether Indian." It was the largest grant ever made to one man in America. The charter was granted the following March. Penn had chosen the name New Wales for his province, but the king called it Pennsylvania in memory of the deceased admiral.¹⁵² The boundaries of the colony, as given • in the charter, became the subject of the most serious dispute, and the matter was not fully settled for nearly a hundred years.

¹⁵² Penn came near being the author of the name of his colony. When "New Wales" was abandoned he suggested "Sylvania" (from the Latin word "sylva," a forest) and the king added the prefix, "Penn."

The dispute between Lord Baltimore and Penn began the same year in which the charter was granted, the former contending that the fortieth degree fell north of Philadelphia, whereas the king in granting the charter had supposed it would fall at the head of Delaware Bay. Penn therefore insisted that the line be fixed where it was supposed to be, and, after a long contention, the matter was settled in his favor. The boundary line, however, was not determined until many years later—long after Penn and Baltimore were in their graves. It was not until 1767 that two English surveyors, Mason and Dixon, completed this line, which has since borne their names, and which, after acquiring a new meaning, became the most famous boundary line in the New World.¹⁸⁸

Of all the colony builders of America the most famous in our history is Penn. Nor was he excelled by any in sincerity of purpose and loftiness of aim. His province was a princely domain; a vast fertile region traversed by beautiful rivers and lofty mountain ranges, and holding beneath the soil a wealth of minerals unequalled by all the other colonies com-

¹⁸⁸ The province was to extend five degrees westward from the Delaware River; and "the said lands to be bounded on the north by the beginning of the three and fortieth degree of Northern Latitude, and on the South by a Circle drawn at twelve miles distance from New Castle Northward and Westward unto the beginning of the fortieth degree of Northern latitude." (See Poore's "Charters," Vol. II, p. 1510.) Just what the "beginning of the three and fortieth" and the "beginning of the fortieth" degrees meant was not clear. Penn, finding that the fortieth degree fell too far north to give him a harbor on the Chesapeake, contended that the "beginning" of the fortieth degree did not mean the fortieth degree, and he won in part; but it cost him dearly, for, although the charter set the northern boundary at the "beginning of the forty-third degree," which would have thrown it north of Buffalo, it was finally fixed at the forty-second degree. In 1732 the heirs of Penn and Baltimore signed an agreement that the line between Penn-

bined. The colony was rightly named, for it was one vast forest, extending from the Delaware over the Appalachian Mountain system, down its western slope and far into the Ohio Valley. It was inhabited by Indians alone, except for a few Swedish hamlets along the lower Delaware, the inhabitants of which, some five hundred in number, Penn pronounced a "strong, industrious people." Penn was granted ample power for the government of his new possessions, the king requiring, as a token of allegiance, two beaver skins each year, and also a fifth of the gold and silver that might be mined. In this feature the charter reminds us of the charter of Maryland. The proprietor was clothed with the power to establish courts, appoint judges, to train soldiers, to wage wars, and to make laws; but the king retained the veto power, and, unlike all the other colonial charters, the power of tax-

sylvania and Maryland be run due west from the tangent of the western boundary of Delaware with the arc twelve miles from New Castle. Many years of further wrangling followed, when it was decided to employ the two expert surveyors, Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, who fixed the line at $39^{\circ} 44'$ and extended it westward about 230 miles. At intervals of a mile small cut stones were set in the ground; each stone had a large "P" carved on the north side, and a "B" on the south side. Every five miles was placed a larger stone bearing the Pennsylvania coat of arms on one side and that of Lord Baltimore on the other. These stones were cut in England and afterward brought to the colonies. A few of them still stand, but time has crumbled many of them; others have been carried away piecemeal by relic hunters, and a few are doing service as steps before the doors of farmhouses along the route.

When Mason and Dixon's line was run both Pennsylvania and Maryland were slave colonies. In later years Pennsylvania emancipated her slaves, while Maryland retained hers and went with the South. During the half-century preceding the Civil War, the original limits and meaning of the line were lost sight of; no one thought of it as a boundary between two states, but rather as the boundary between the free and slave states.



WILLIAM PENN'S TREATY WITH THE INDIANS.

By BENJAMIN WEST, 1773.

From the original painting in the old State House Philadelphia



ing the people of the colony was reserved to the English Parliament. This provision remained a dead letter until the approach of the Revolution, when it became very significant.¹⁸⁴ A strange omission of this charter was that it did not guarantee the settlers the rights of Englishmen, as did the other charters. To gain an outlet to the sea Penn purchased of the Duke of York the three counties of Delaware, as we have seen.

That Penn was a religious enthusiast and a true philanthropist is well known; that he was a man of the world whose secondary object, private gain, was never lost sight of, is not so well known, but equally true.¹⁸⁵ His venture in colony planting was soon published widely over England. He drew up a frame of government and offered a liberal share of the government to the colonists. He also offered five thousand acres for one hundred pounds and one hundred acres for two pounds, subject to a small quitrent, and it was not long till many were ready to join the enterprise. Penn appointed his relative, William Markham, the first governor of Pennsylvania, and in the autumn of 1681 sent him ahead with three shiploads of emigrants. Markham bore an affectionate letter from the proprietor to the Swedes in which he said, "You shall be governed by laws of your own making, and live a free, and if you will, a sober, industrious people."

The year after Markham's voyage Penn himself followed him to the New World in the ship *Welcome*. The passengers numbered about a hundred, one third of whom died of smallpox on the ocean. The *Welcome* sailed up the Delaware and landed at New Castle in the autumn of 1682.

¹⁸⁴ See Poore's "Charters," p. 1515.

¹⁸⁵ See Shepherd's "Proprietary Government in Pennsylvania," p. 174.

Penn was received with a cordial greeting by the inhabitants; he produced his royal patent, which transferred the territory from the duke to himself, and spoke so kindly to the people that he readily won their hearts. Reaching Chester, he called a provisional legislature, and some time was spent in allotting lands and framing laws. Proceeding up the Delaware, he came to the site on which was to rise the city of Philadelphia, soon to become the chief city in colonial America, and in a later generation the birthplace of independence and of the Constitution of the United States. Here already stood a Swedish village, and a Lutheran church at Wicaco,¹⁵⁶ and here Penn decided to build a city and make it the capital of his province. He purchased from the Swedes the neck of land between the Delaware and the Schuylkill rivers, and in the early months of 1683 the streets of the new city were laid out. The growth of Philadelphia was phenomenal. In less than four years it had passed New York, which had been founded sixty years before.

It was a few months after this time that Penn made his famous treaty with the Indians under a great elm tree on the banks of the Delaware, a short distance north of the newly founded city.¹⁵⁷ The Indians were of the Delaware or Lenni-Lenape tribe. The chiefs sat in a semicircle on the ground, says tradition,¹⁵⁸ while Penn, with a few unarmed attendants, all in their Quaker garb, addressed them as friends and brothers, compared the white and red men to the

¹⁵⁶ This church still stands near the bank of the Delaware, and is one of the most interesting landmarks in Philadelphia.

¹⁵⁷ The city has long since absorbed the place. The elm was blown down in 1810, and a beautiful monument now marks the spot.

¹⁵⁸ This tradition is doubtless based on Benjamin West's painting. See Fisher's "True William Penn," pp. 242-245.

different members of the human body, and made a pledge to live in peace and friendship with them. These children of the forest were deeply touched by the sincerity and open candor of the great Englishman, and they answered through a chief that they would "live in love with William Penn and his children as long as the sun and moon give light."

These mutual vows constituted the treaty; no written words were required and no oath was taken. Yet this sacred treaty was kept unbroken till long after those who had made it had passed away. It was said that the Quaker dress was a better protection among the Indians than a musket, and that when an Indian wished to pay the highest compliment to a white man, he would say, "He is like William Penn." ¹⁵⁹

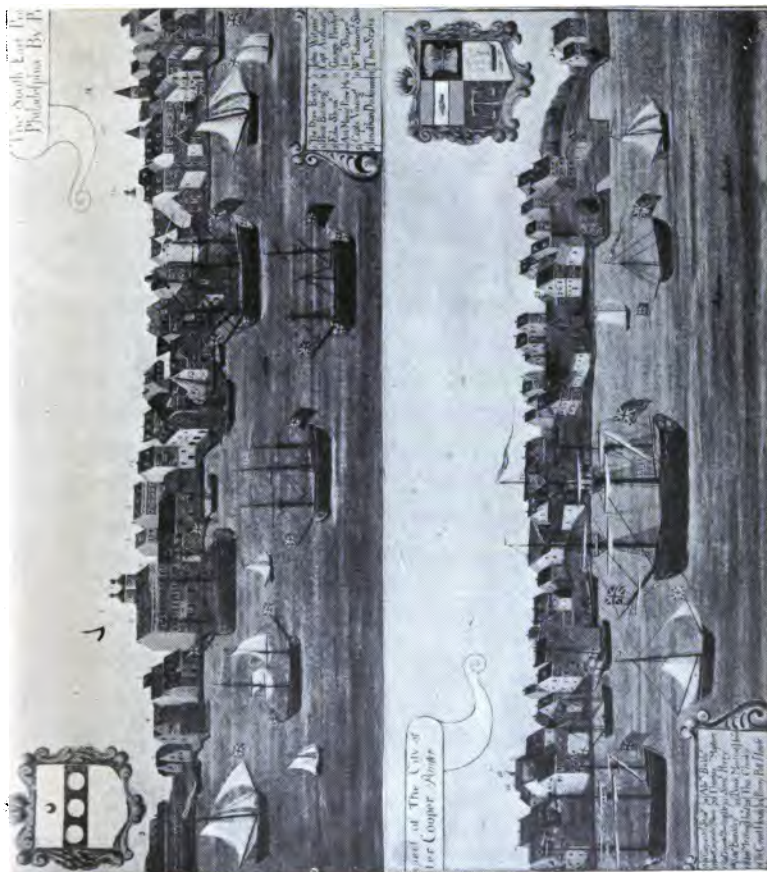
In the early spring of 1683 the legislature of the colony met in Philadelphia. The proprietor presented a new frame of government, giving all power of lawmaking into the hands of the people represented by a council which should originate all laws and an assembly that should approve them. All

¹⁶⁰ Governor Markham had already treated with the Indians for the purchase of lands, and Penn, on various occasions after this meeting at Shackamaxon, made bargains with them for lands, the most famous of which was the "Walking Purchase." By this he was to receive a tract of land extending as far from the Delaware as a man could walk in three days. Penn and a few friends, with a body of Indians, walked about thirty miles in a day and a half and as he needed no more land at the time, the matter was left to be finished at some future time. (See Channing's "Students' History," p. 117.) In 1733, long after Penn's death, the other day and a half was walked out in a very different spirit. The whites employed the three fastest walkers that could be found, offering each five hundred acres of land. One of them was exhausted and died in a few days, another injured himself for life, but the third, a famous hunter named Marshall, walked over sixty miles in the day and a half, greatly to the chagrin of the Indians. See Walton and Brumbaugh's "Stories of Pennsylvania," p. 39.

freemen were made citizens and all Christians were freemen, except servants and convicts. A law was passed uniting the "Lower counties" to Pennsylvania and naturalizing the Swedes. Penn was voted the veto power for life. Laws were made for the training of children, the useful employment of criminals, religious toleration—and all were in keeping with the humane spirit of the proprietor. For some years the government was very unsettled.

Penn had established a home in Philadelphia, and there would he gladly have spent his life; but his trouble with Baltimore took him back to England in the summer of 1684, and his business kept him there for fifteen years. After the English Revolution Penn was suspected of giving aid and comfort to the dethroned monarch whose brother had granted him his charter, and in 1692 he was deprived of his colony. The control of Pennsylvania was then placed into the hands of Governor Fletcher of New York. But nearly two years later, the charges against Penn having been removed, his right to Pennsylvania was restored. In 1696 Markham granted a new frame of government, in which the power to originate legislation was taken from the council and given to the assembly. Again, in 1699, William Penn crossed the Atlantic to visit his growing family in the forests of Pennsylvania, and he found that vast changes had been wrought in his absence. Twenty thousand people had made their homes in his province. The city that he had founded was fast rising to importance, and the wilderness of the river valley was dotted with farms. Here he found not only his fellow Quakers, but Germans from the Rhine, Swedes, and Dutch, together laying the foundations of a great commonwealth.

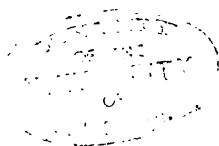
The great-souled proprietor had been deeply humbled



THE SOUTHEAST PROSPECT OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA.

By PETER COOPER, 1720.

From the original painting in the Library Company of Philadelphia.



since last he saw the fair lands of Pennsylvania,—he had lost his faithful wife and eldest son, he had lost his fortune, and he had borne the charge of treason against his native country. And now to these was added another sorrow—the people of his province had been weaned away from him during the intervening years; he was no longer the “Father Penn” that he had been before; they clamored for even greater freedom than his generous soul had granted them at first, and to this was added the demand of Delaware for a separate government.¹⁶⁰ Penn was grieved, but he granted these requests. He gave Delaware a separate legislature, and a new government to Pennsylvania. The form of government that Penn now conferred on his colonists practically transferred all power to the people, subject to their allegiance to the Crown, and the veto power of the governor. It eliminated the council as a legislative body, giving it but a negative influence as an advisory board to the governor. It also defined the rights of prisoners, granted liberty of conscience, and made provision for amendments. This constitution remained in force for seventy-five years—to the War for Independence.

In 1701 Penn bade a final adieu to his beloved Pennsylvania and sailed again for his native land. But even now, after his long years of turmoil, it was not for him to spend his old age in rest and quiet. On reaching England, he found that he had been robbed of the remnant of his fortune by an unjust steward, and later he was thrown into prison for debt. In his earlier manhood he had suffered various imprisonments for conscience's sake, but now he chafed under

¹⁶⁰ Delaware had been granted a separate government as early as 1691, but the following year Governor Fletcher, of New York, reunited it to Pennsylvania.

confinement and to secure his release mortgaged his province in the New World. But still other misfortunes awaited him. He was stricken with paralysis, and for years he lay a helpless invalid, dying in 1718 at the age of seventy-four.

The character of Penn is one of the most admirable in history. It is difficult to find a man, especially one whose life is spent in the midst of political turmoil and governmental strife, so utterly incorruptible as was William Penn. When on the threshold of manhood, when the hot flush of youth was on his cheek, the blandishments of wealth and station and of royal favor beckoned him to a life of ease and pleasure; but he turned away from them all and chose to cast his lot with a despised people—purely for conscience's sake. No allurements of Pharaoh's court, no threats of an angry father, nor frowning walls of a prison-cell could shake his high-born purpose to serve God in the way that seemed to him right. His life was full of light and shadow. He suffered much, but he also accomplished much—far more than the age in which he lived was ready to acknowledge. He founded a government and based it on the eternal principle of equal human rights, with its sole object the freedom and happiness of its people; and that alone was sufficient to give him a name in history.

Thirty-seven years elapsed between the founding of Pennsylvania and the death of the founder, and he spent but four of these years in America; yet we are wont to regard William Penn almost as truly an American as was Franklin or Washington, and in the annals of our country his name must ever hold a place among the immortals.

The growth of Pennsylvania was more rapid than that of any other of the thirteen colonies, and though it was the last founded save one, it soon came to rank with the most impor-

tant, and at the coming of the Revolution it stood third in population. Penn had willed the colony to his three sons, John, Thomas, and Richard, and these with their successors held it until after the Revolution. In the early part of the eighteenth century a great number of palatine Germans, driven from their homes by religious wars, found their way to Pennsylvania, settled Germantown (since absorbed by Philadelphia), and scattered over the Schuylkill and Lehigh valleys. The English were for a time alarmed at the influx of such numbers of a foreign people; but they were not long in discovering that these Germans were an industrious, peace-loving people, fairly educated, and, while wholly unostentatious, as sincerely religious as the Puritan or the Quaker.

Still greater during this period was the stream of Scotch-Irish from Ulster. These hardy Scotch Presbyterians, who had occupied northern Ireland for two or three generations, being curbed in their industries for the protection of English industries and annoyed by petty religious persecutions, came to America in great numbers,¹⁶¹—so great as to form more than half the population of Pennsylvania, and to spare many thousands of their numbers to the southern colonies along the coast and the wilderness of Kentucky and Tennessee. In Pennsylvania they settled chiefly on the plains and mountain slopes west and south of the Susquehanna. These people, as well as the Germans and others, were attracted to Pennsylvania because of the liberal, humane government inaugurated by William Penn. Slavery was never popular in Pennsylvania, and the number of slaves was kept down by strict laws against their importation. Before the Revolution many of them had been set free by their masters. Of

¹⁶¹ Fiske, "Dutch and Quaker Colonies," Vol. II, p. 353.

Redemptioners, mostly Germans and Irish, there were probably more in Pennsylvania during the eighteenth century than in any other colony. The majority of them, after their period of servitude, became useful citizens.

During the long period of her colonial youth we find in Pennsylvania the same kind of quarreling between the people and the governors, the same vagaries in issuing paper money, the same unbridled spirit of freedom, the same monotonous history, as we find in most of the other colonies. Among her governors we find in the early period no really great men, but in 1723 there arrived in Philadelphia a young man from Boston who soon rose to be the leading figure in the colony, and so he continued for more than half a century. This was Benjamin Franklin, who, it may be further said, was the greatest character of colonial America.

CHAPTER VIII

COLONIAL WARS—FRENCH EXPLORERS

BEFORE the coming of the Pilgrim Fathers, or even the founding of Jamestown, the French had made a beginning toward the occupation of Canada. At the moment when Henry Hudson was bartering with the Indians along the banks of the Hudson, Champlain was but a few miles away, exploring the beautiful lake that bears his name; and the year before that he had established a post on a rocky cliff overlooking the majestic St. Lawrence, and had named it Quebec.¹⁶² For many years thereafter the French came in small numbers, scattering through the wilderness, trading in furs, and seeking to convert the Indians to Christianity. The conversion of the Indians became the care of the French government, and the work was intrusted to the Jesuit priests—men who would brave every peril to carry the religion of Rome to the benighted red man. They established missions in many places and at the same time made useful explorations through the great northern wilderness. In 1634 Jean Nicolle, sent by Champlain, discovered Lake Michigan. Other Frenchmen discovered Lake Supe-

¹⁶² As early as 1534 Cartier ascended the St. Lawrence as far as the site of Montreal, and Roberval made an unsuccessful attempt to plant a colony near the site of Quebec in 1542. The French had planted a colony of jail birds on Sable Island, off the coast of Nova Scotia, in 1598, and De Monts settled a colony in Acadia in 1604; but neither colony was permanent. Champlain had made a previous exploring tour (1603) to the American coast.

rior and portions of the boundless regions west and south of it.

In 1666 one of these, Father Allouez, went far into the lake region, beyond the head of Lake Superior, and while there he heard of the vast, treeless plains of Illinois and of the great river beyond that flowed toward the south. Returning to Quebec, Allouez related what he had heard, and the hearts of others were fired with a desire to explore the great valley in the southwest. Among these was Father James Marquette, who had recently come from France. He, with another Jesuit priest named Joliet and a few guides and companions, determined to explore the western wilderness, where no white man's foot had been. They ascended the Fox River, carried their canoes across the portage to the Wisconsin, and floated down this stream to the Mississippi. They then launched their little boats upon its bosom and floated for hundreds of miles with its current. The shores were covered with dense forests abounding in wild animals, or stretched away in boundless, grassy plains, with here and there the well-known traces of the red children of the forest. On they floated, past the mouths of the turbid Missouri and of the clear, sparkling Ohio, and still on until the semi-tropical plants and breezes replaced the rigorous climate of the north. When they reached the mouth of the Arkansas, they decided to retrace their steps, and the toilsome work of rowing up-stream was begun. After a weary journey of many weeks they reached the Illinois River, and, ascending it, crossed the country to Lake Michigan. Joliet now hastened back to Canada to tell of their discoveries, while the self-denying Marquette determined to remain in the wilderness and give his life to the enlightenment of the savages. But his labors were soon to end; one

day, as he was kneeling by a rude altar of his own making, his spirit passed away, and his friends found his lifeless body in the attitude of prayer.

Of still greater importance were the achievements of Robert Cavalier de La Salle, a young Frenchman born at Rouen, France, and educated at a Jesuit school. While yet a young man he migrated to Canada and occupied an estate at Fort Frontenac, now Kingston, on the shore of Lake Ontario. Inflamed with the news of Marquette's discoveries, he determined to leave his lands and herds and explore the great western country, and thus to secure it for his king. La Salle was probably the first of his nation to plan the holding of the entire Mississippi basin and the lake region by means of military posts. After several years' negotiating, he received permission from Louis XIV to occupy and explore the great valley of the Mississippi. In the spring of 1682 he began one of the most famous exploring tours in the early history of our country. Taking with him a few companions, he floated down the Mississippi to its mouth, took possession of its vast basin in the name of France, and called it Louisiana in honor of the king. He then made the long and weary journey back to Quebec, and thence sailed to France, where he soon succeeded in interesting his king in planting a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi. The king sent La Salle back with four vessels, one of which was an armed frigate, bearing nearly three hundred colonists. It is claimed that the French king expended more money in fitting out this colony than did all the English sovereigns combined in planting their thirteen colonies in North America.

The little fleet sailed into the Gulf of Mexico, but missed the mouth of the great river and landed on the shore of

Texas. One of the vessels was wrecked. Many of the voyagers returned to France, but the dauntless La Salle, with a small company, remained, built a fort, and spent some months in a fruitless search for the Mississippi. Contentions arose among the men, and one day La Salle was murdered by two of his own countrymen. Thus perished this ambitious Frenchman; his body was left to molder in the wilderness; his dream was unrealized, but his name, in connection with the greatest of American rivers, has a place in history second only to that of De Soto.

KING WILLIAM'S WAR (1690-1697)

King James II of England, unlike his profligate brother, Charles II, was extremely religious, and his religion was that of Rome. The large majority of the people of England were Protestants; but they would have submitted to a Catholic king had he not used his official power to convert the nation to Catholicism. From the time of James's accession, in 1685, the unrest increased, until three years later, the opposition was so formidable that the monarch fled from his kingdom and took refuge in France. The daughter of James and her husband, the Prince of Orange, became the joint sovereigns of England as William and Mary. This movement is known in history as the English Revolution.

Louis XIV, the king of France, was a Catholic and in full sympathy with James. Moreover, he denied the right of a people to change sovereigns, and espoused the cause of James; and war between the two nations followed. This war was reflected in America, as King William rejected an offer of colonial neutrality, and it is known as "King William's War." The English colonies had long watched the French encroachments on the north; the French determined

to hold the St. Lawrence country, and to extend their power over the vast basin of the Mississippi; and each was jealous of the other concerning the fisheries and the fur trade. To these differences must be added an intense religious feeling. The English colonies were almost wholly Protestant except Maryland, and even in Maryland the Protestants were in a large majority. New France was purely Catholic, and the two forms of Christianity had not yet learned to dwell together, or near together, in harmony. King James had not confined his designs to the home country; he had not only revoked some of the colonial charters and sent the tyrant Andros to domineer New England, but he had instructed his Catholic governor of New York, Dongan, to influence the Iroquois to admit Jesuit teachers among them, and to introduce the Catholic religion into the colony. It was at this time that Leisler seized the government of New York, and called the first colonial congress. Exasperated by these things, the English colonists were eager for the conflict, while the French Canadians were equally ready to grapple with them. King William's War was very different in aim and meaning in the colonies from what it was beyond the Atlantic. In America it was the first of several fierce contests, covering seventy years; or, it may be said, it was the beginning of a seventy years' war, with intervals of peace, for the supremacy in North America.

The war began by a series of Indian massacres instigated by Frontenac, the governor of Canada. The first of these was the destruction of Doyer, New Hampshire, a town of fifty inhabitants. One night in July, 1689, two squaws came to the home of the aged Major Waldron and begged a night's lodging. Being admitted, they rose in the night and let in a large number of Indians who lay in ambush. Wal-

dron was put to death with frightful tortures, the town was burned to the ground, about half the people were massacred, and the remainder were carried away and sold into slavery. In the following month Pemaquid, Maine, met a similar fate. In February, 1690, a body of French and Indians, sent by Frontenac, came to the town of Schenectady on the Mohawk. For nearly a month they had faced the wintry blasts, plowing their way through the deep snow on their mission of destruction. At midnight they fell with dreadful yells upon the sleeping village. In a few hours all was over; the town was laid in ashes. More than sixty were massacred, many were taken captive, a few escaped into the night and reached Albany. The towns of Casco and Salmon Falls soon after met a similar fate.

The war spirit was now aroused throughout the colonies. It was determined, through Leisler's congress,¹⁸⁸ to send a land force against Montreal by way of Lake Champlain, and a naval expedition against Quebec. The expenses of the former were borne by Connecticut and New York, and of the latter by Massachusetts. Sir William Phipps of Maine, who had this same year, 1690, captured Port Royal in Nova Scotia, commanded the naval force. He had thirty or more vessels and two thousand men. But the vigilant Frontenac, in spite of his fourscore years, was on the alert. He successfully repelled the land force, which turned back disheartened, and then hastened to the defense of Quebec. But here he had little to do. Phipps was a weak commander, and the fleet, after reaching Quebec and finding it well fortified, returned to Boston without striking an effective blow. The people of Massachusetts were greatly disappointed at the failure of the expedition. The debt of the colony had

¹⁸⁸ See *supra*, p. 200.

reached an enormous figure, and to meet it bills of credit, or paper money, were issued to the amount of £40,000. Phipps was soon afterward sent to England to seek aid of the king and a renewal of the old charter that Andros had destroyed. King William was hard pressed at home, and he left the colonies to fight their own battles; he also refused to restore the old charter, but he granted a new one, as we have noticed, and made Phipps the first royal governor of Massachusetts.

The war dragged on for several years longer, but it consisted only in desultory sallies and frontier massacres. The towns of York, Maine, Durham, New Hampshire, and Groton, Massachusetts, were the scenes of bloody massacres, and hundreds of people were slain.¹⁶⁴

In 1697 a treaty of peace was signed at Ryswick, a village near The Hague, and the cruel war was temporarily over. Acadia, which had been permaturely incorporated with Massachusetts, was restored to France. But this treaty was only a truce. The English and French nations had not learned to love each other, and the questions in dispute had made no progress toward settlement.

After the death of William and Mary the crown of Eng-

¹⁶⁴ Many were the heroic deeds of those days of savage warfare. One of the most notable was that of Hannah Dustin, the wife of a farmer near Haverhill, Massachusetts. She saw her home burned by the savages and her infant child dashed to death against a tree, while she and a neighbor named Mary Neff were carried away captive. It was not long till she planned her escape. To prevent being followed, and to avenge the murder of her babe, she reached a desperate resolve. Twelve Indians, nine of whom were men, lay asleep about them when she and her companion and a boy, who was also a captive, rose at midnight, and with well-directed blows killed ten of them, sparing only a squaw and a boy, made their escape, and returned to their homes. Mrs. Dustin had scalped the dead Indians, and she received a bounty of £50 for the scalps.

land was settled (1702) on Anne, the sister of Mary. James, the exiled king, died in 1701, and his son, known as James the Pretender, was proclaimed king of England by the French sovereign. This act alone would have brought another war, but there was another provocation. King Louis of France placed his grandson, Philip of Anjou, on the throne of Spain, and thus greatly increased his power among the dynasties of Europe. This was very distasteful to the English, and the war that followed was known as the War of the Spanish Succession. In America, however, it was styled

QUEEN ANNE'S WAR (1702-1714)

After this brief season of peace the colonists were obliged to face another long and murderous war. In character this war was similar to that which preceded it, a contest over Acadia and New France, consisting of surprises and bloody massacres. Early in the conflict the coast of Maine was swept by bands of savage red men and equally savage Frenchmen, and hundreds of men, women, and children were tomahawked or carried into captivity. On an intensely cold morning in February, 1704, at daybreak, a party of nearly four hundred French and Indians broke upon the town of Deerfield, and with their terrible war cry began their work of destruction and slaughter. Nearly fifty of the inhabitants were slain, and more than a hundred were carried into captivity.¹⁶⁸ A few years later Haverhill, Massachusetts, met with a fate similar to that of Deerfield.

In 1704 the colonists made an unsuccessful attack by sea

¹⁶⁸ Among the captives were the minister, Williams, his wife, and five children. Mrs. Williams soon perished by the tomahawk. The rest were afterward rescued, except a seven-year-old daughter. Many

on Port Royal, Acadia, and another in 1707; and three years later the British government, having at last decided to aid the colonies, sent a small fleet under Colonel Nicholson, which was joined by an armament from Boston, and a third attack was made. This was successful; Port Royal surrendered, and was named Annapolis in honor of the English queen, while Acadia was henceforth called Nova Scotia.

A beginning of English success was thus made, and the bold scheme of conquering Canada was now conceived. Sir Hovendon Walker arrived at Boston with a fleet and an army, and these were augmented by the colonists at the bugle call of Governor Dudley of Massachusetts, until the fleet consisted of nine war vessels, sixty transports, and many smaller craft, bearing in all twelve thousand men. Nothing like it had ever before been seen in American waters. In August, 1711, this imposing fleet moved to the northward, and at the same time a land force of twenty-three hundred men under Colonel Nicholson started for Montreal by way of Lake Champlain.

It would seem that New France must certainly fall before such a power, and all Canada be added to the British dominions in America. But there was one fatal obstacle to success, and that was the want of ability in Admiral Walker. He not only lacked capacity to command such a force, but he was wanting in courage. The whole movement came to nothing. Walker lost eight ships and a thousand men in a dense fog at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, and refused to

years later a white woman in Indian garb appeared at Deerfield. It proved to be the daughter of the Rev. Mr. Williams. She had married a Mohawk chief. Her friends besought her to remain with them, but her heart was with her dusky husband and half-breed children, and no entreaties could influence her to remain with the friends of her childhood.

go further, believing that the disaster was a blessing in disguise, a merciful intervention of Providence to save his men from "freezing, starvation, and cannibalism."¹⁶⁶ Nicholson, hearing of the return of the fleet, was greatly enraged, and burned his wooden forts, led his army to Albany, and disbanded it.

Vaudreuil, the governor-general of Canada, had heard of the enemy's approach and had prepared for him as best he could. The people were thrown into a state of wild consternation; but when they heard of the disastrous failure of the fleet, they rejoiced and praised God that He had preserved them and dashed their enemy to pieces, and a solemn mass was ordered to be said every month for a year, to be followed by the song of Moses after the destruction of Pharaoh and his host.¹⁶⁷

Both nations were now weary of the war, and the Treaty of Utrecht was the result. By this treaty Acadia, Newfoundland, and the Hudson Bay territory were ceded by France to England; and the Five Nations were acknowledged to be British subjects. The aged king of France used the last efforts in his power to avoid giving up Acadia, but all to no purpose.

The Peace of Utrecht, like that of Ryswick sixteen years before, was but a temporary peace. The great problems in America were left unsettled. That treaty fixed no limits to Acadia, nor did it mark the boundary between the British colonies and Canada. These were questions that must sometime be settled; but there was another question of far greater importance, and that was whether France or England would

¹⁶⁶ Parkman's "Half Century of Conflict," Vol. I, p. 170.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

obtain control of the great valley of the Mississippi. The embers of war were thus left unquenched, and the time was bound to come when they would burst forth into flame.¹⁶⁸ The Treaty of Utrecht brought a nominal peace that was unbroken for thirty years; but meantime the two nations, like crouching tigers, made ready each to spring upon the other.

The king of France had sullenly given up his beloved Acadia, but he retained Cape Breton Island, still more important because it commanded the mouth of the St. Lawrence. Here, on a tongue of land in the southeastern portion of the island, the king determined to build a fortress far more imposing than any other in America, and to call it after his own name—Louisburg. This project was scarcely on foot when Louis XIV died, and the plan was carried out by his successors. The great object of this movement was to furnish a base from which to guard the St. Lawrence Valley against all comers, and to reclaim, if possible, the fair land of Acadia.

But the French did not stop with the founding of Louisburg; they spent the season of peace in strengthening their hold on the Mississippi Valley. As early as 1698 a naval officer named Iberville had been sent by his king to carry out the great work attempted by the ambitious La Salle—to plant a colony on the lower Mississippi. Iberville made great haste lest the English precede him to the coveted land. He reached the mouth of the great river, and ascended it for some distance. The chief of an Indian tribe gave him a letter that had been written thirteen years before by Tonty, while searching for the lost colony of La Salle. Iberville

¹⁶⁸ Parkman, "Montcalm and Wolfe," Vol. I, p. 117.

found no suitable place on the banks of the river, and settled his colony on Biloxi Bay. A few years later a colony was planted on Mobile Bay. In 1718 New Orleans was founded by Bienville, a brother of Iberville, and four years later it was made the capital of the vast region known as Louisiana.

France had now two heads, as Parkman puts it, to her great North American possessions—one amid the Canadian snows and the other in the tropical regions of the South. But two thousand miles of untrodden wilderness lay between the extremes of this boundless domain, and the French knew that to hold it something more than merely claiming it must be done. They began, therefore, the erection of a chain of forts, or military posts. They built forts at Niagara, Detroit, and other points, to guard the great lakes, and they even encroached on the soil of New York and built a fort at Crown Point. In the Illinois country they founded Vincennes and Kaskaskia, and pushed farther southward, while from the Gulf of Mexico they moved northward, establishing one post after another, until by the middle of the eighteenth century there were more than sixty forts between Montreal and New Orleans. France now claimed all of North America from Mexico and Florida to the Arctic Ocean, except the Hudson Bay region and the narrow English margin on the east between the mountains and the sea; and it must have seemed to human eyes that the future development of the continent must be modeled after the Latin civilization rather than the Anglo-Saxon. But a great struggle was yet to determine the trend of American civilization. Before treating of that, however, we must take note of another preliminary skirmish, known in our history as

KING GEORGE'S WAR (1744-1748)

This war, known by the above name in America, was but the faint glimmer of the dreadful conflagration that swept over Europe at this time under the name of the War of the Austrian Succession. On the death of Charles VI, emperor of Austria, in 1740, the male line of the House of Hapsburg became extinct, and his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, ascended the Austrian throne. But there were other claimants, and the matter brought on a war of tremendous dimensions, embroiling nearly all the nations of Europe. Again we find France and England on opposite sides, war being declared between them in the spring of 1744. Of this great war we have little to record here, as little of it occurred in America. Aside from the usual Indian massacres, but one great event marks King George's War—the capture of Louisburg.

Louisburg, as we have noticed, was built on a point of land on Cape Breton Island; it commanded the chief entrance to the greatest of American rivers, except only the "Father of Waters." It was a powerful fortress; it had cost six million dollars, and was twenty years in building. Its walls of solid masonry, from which frowned a hundred cannon, were from twenty to thirty feet high, and their circumference was two and a half miles. The fort was the pride of the French heart in America. It was looked upon as an impregnable fortress, that would keep out every intruder and baffle every foe; yet it was reduced and captured by a fleet of little fighting strength, bearing a few thousand soldiers, chiefly New England farmers and fishermen.

The father of the Louisburg expedition was William Shirley, governor of Massachusetts, and William Pepperell of Maine was made its commander. New England furnished

the men, while Pennsylvania sent some provisions, and New York a small amount of artillery. The fleet was composed of something over a hundred vessels of various grades, and just before sailing these were joined by four English men-of-war from the West Indies, commanded by Commodore Warren. On the first day of May, 1745, this motley fleet came under the walls of Louisburg. A landing was soon made, and the "men flew to shore like eagles to their quarry." Every effort of the French to drive them back was foiled. The artillery was managed by the master engineer, Richard Gridley of Boston, who was to figure in the same capacity in two far greater wars. The siege continued for six weeks, when a French war vessel of sixty-four guns, laden with military stores, came to the rescue of the fort; but she was captured by the English fleet in open view of the helpless besieged in the fort. This was the final stroke. The garrison could hold out no longer. On the 17th of June the fort and batteries were surrendered, and the British flag soon waved over the walls of Louisburg.

The French king was astonished at the fall of his great fortress in America, and determined to recapture it. He sent D'Annville with a fleet for the purpose, but D'Annville died, and his successor committed suicide, and the project came to naught. The next year the king sent another fleet, but it was captured by the English; and then came the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

The peace, as arranged at Aix-la-Chapelle, restored to each power what it had possessed before the war—save the great sacrifice of life and treasure—and that meant that Louisburg must be restored to the French. A wave of indignation swept over the English colonies when they learned that the fruit of their great victory had been quietly handed

back, without their knowledge or consent, to the enemy from whom it had been taken; and here we find one of the many remote causes that led the colonists in later years to determine that American affairs must be managed in America and not by a corps of diplomats three thousand miles across the sea, who had little interest in the welfare and future of their kindred in the New World.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁹ But the English looked at the matter from a different standpoint. Chalmers complains bitterly (Vol. II, p. 253) that England in this war had lost her reputation and had expended £30,000,000 on which she must pay interest—all for the colonists, who had lost nothing, and who ungratefully continued to defraud the mother country by smuggling. He neglects to state that most of this expenditure took place in Europe and had no connection with American affairs.

CHAPTER IX

THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

THE Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle of 1748, like its predecessors at Ryswick and Utrecht, failed to settle the vital question between the rival claimants of North America. A commission of two Englishmen and two Frenchmen sat in Paris for many months after this treaty was signed, endeavoring to adjust the French-English boundaries in America; but they labored in vain.

The first subject in dispute was the bounds of Acadia. The Treaty of Utrecht ceded it to England without defining its bounds, and thus planted seeds of future quarrels. The French now contended that Acadia comprised only the peninsula of Nova Scotia, while the English claimed that the bounds formerly given to it by the French must now be adhered to. By these bounds the vast territory comprising northern Maine, New Brunswick, and a great portion of the St. Lawrence Valley was included in Acadia. While this question was pending, a more important and immediate one came up for solution, namely, the ownership of the Ohio Valley.

This valley of the "Beautiful River" was a princely domain. It extended southward from Lake Erie and westward from the base of the Alleghany Mountains, comprising an endless succession of hills and valleys, watered by innumerable crystal streams, and stretching on and on until it merged at length into the greater valley of the Missis-

issippi. The French claimed this vast region as a part of the great basin of the Mississippi discovered by Marquette and La Salle, and now secured by a cordon of forts from Canada to the sunny climate of the Gulf of Mexico. The English claimed it on two grounds, both of which were as shadowy as the claims of the French: first, the early charters of Virginia and of other colonies (based on the Cabot discoveries) which covered the unknown regions westward to the equally unknown "South Sea"; and second, the claims of the Iroquois. The Iroquois had been acknowledged British subjects by the Treaty of Utrecht, and their lands were therefore British territory, and their conquests were considered British conquests. Roving bands of these Indians had, at various times, traversed this western country, and had here and there driven off the natives or gained some trivial victory; and the English now claimed many thousands of square miles in consequence of these "conquests." They "laid claim to every mountain, forest, or prairie where an Iroquois had taken a scalp."¹⁷⁰

The claims of both nations were extravagant in the extreme. If the French had had their way, the English would have been confined to the narrow space between the crest of the Alleghanies and the Atlantic. If the English boundaries had been accepted, the French would have been hemmed within a small portion of Canada, north of the river St. Lawrence.

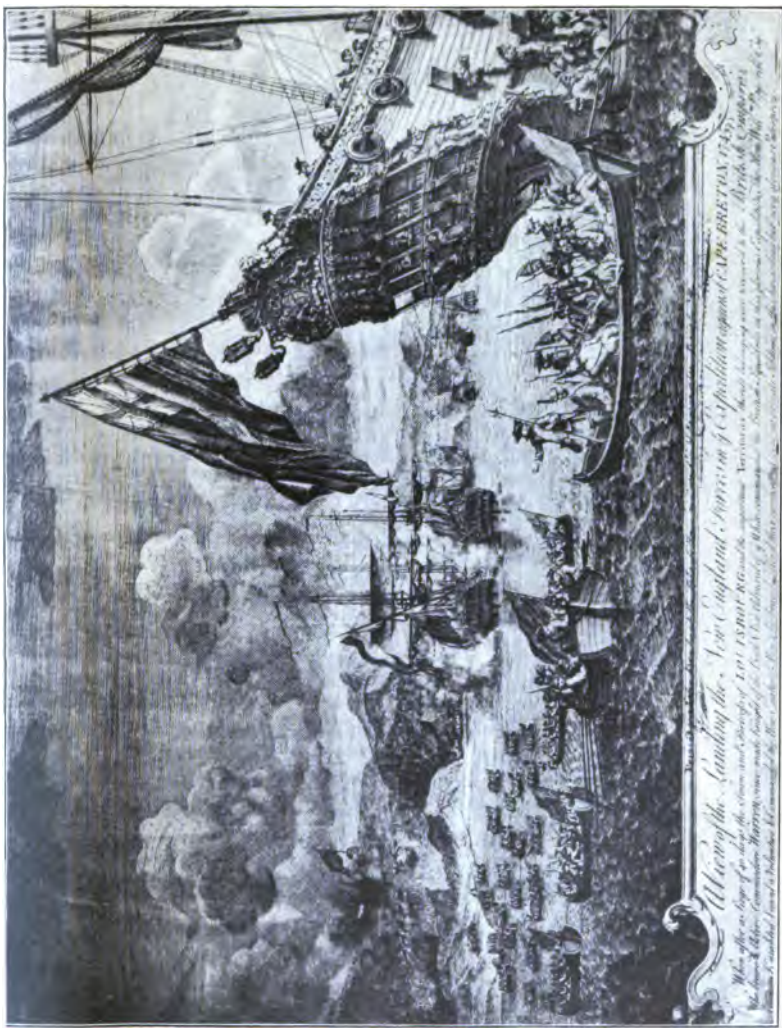
Both nations were now moving to occupy the Ohio Valley. The governor of Canada sent Céloron de Bienville, who, with a company of Canadians and Indians, floated down the Allegheny and Ohio rivers, and took formal possession in the name of his king. At the mouth of a river flowing into

¹⁷⁰ Parkman, "Montcalm and Wolfe," Vol. I, p. 125.

the Ohio, he would choose a large tree and nail to it a tin plate bearing the arms of France, while at its roots he would bury a leaden plate inscribed with the statement that the country belonged to France. This was done at many places along the Ohio.¹⁷¹

During this same year, 1749, the English made a far more rational and tangible move toward securing the coveted territory. The Ohio Company was formed; it was composed of a few wealthy Virginians, to whom King George II granted five hundred thousand acres of land free of rent for ten years, between the Monongahela and Kanawha rivers, on condition that they plant one hundred families and maintain a fort in their new possessions. A little later the French made an important move. They built a fort at Presque Isle, where Erie now stands, Fort Le Bœuf, twenty miles from this, and Venango, on the site of the city of Franklin, Pennsylvania. This action alarmed Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia, as Virginia claimed the whole of the Allegheny Valley by right of her charter of 1609. The governor, therefore, determined to make a formal protest against the occupation of this territory by the French, and in choosing a messenger to make the journey to the newly built forts he unconsciously introduced to the future a young man who was destined to hold the first place in the heart of the great nation that was soon to be born in America—George Washington. Washington was a youth of twenty-one years and was adjutant-general of the Virginia militia.

¹⁷¹ The plate buried at the mouth of the Muskingum was found half a century later by some boys while bathing. Part of it was melted into bullets, and the remainder is now in the cabinet of the American Antiquarian Society. The plate buried at the mouth of the Kanawha was unearthed by floods, and was found by a boy in 1846, ninety-seven years after it had been buried. *Ibid.*, p. 48.



PAINTED BY J. STEVENS. ENGRAVED BY BROOKS. PUBLISHED IN LONDON, AUGUST 1, 1747.

From a print in possession of John Anderson, New York.



He had seen much experience in the woods as a surveyor. He was tall and stalwart, and he not only excelled all his fellows in athletic sports, but was specially noted for his moral character and for his unswerving fidelity to truth and duty. This first appearance of Washington in public life revealed the metal of which he was made, and plainly foreshadowed the great deeds of which he afterward became the hero. With the strength and vigor of youth, he and a few attendants made this perilous journey through the unbroken forest. Over hills and mountains, swamps and marshes, encountering deep snows and frozen rivers, and every peril of a wilderness yet untrodden by the foot of the pioneer, he carried the letter of Virginia's governor to the French commandant at Fort Le Bœuf. Washington's chief guides were Christopher Gist, a pioneer noted for his great skill in woodcraft, and Half King, an Indian chief whom he picked up on the banks of the Ohio. He was treated with much kindness by the French commandant, Saint-Pierre, who, however, declared in his answer that he would remain at his post according to the commands of his general, but promised to send Dinwiddie's letter to Marquis Duquesne, the governor of Canada.

Washington's return trip was full of adventure. Thinking he could make better time, he left his horses and all his guides except Gist, and started out on foot. At an Indian village called Murdering Town they were shot at by a native whom they caught and whom Gist would have killed but for Washington's interference. Reaching the Allegheny River, they attempted to cross on a raft, but Washington was thrown into the current among the ice floes. He regained the raft, thoroughly drenched with the icy waters, and they reached an island in the river, on which they were obliged to

spend a bitterly cold night. Next morning the river was frozen over, and they crossed on the ice and were soon again speeding through the forest. They reached Williamsburg, Virginia, on January 16, whence they had started seventy-eight days before.

Washington thus won the warm favor of his governor and the attention of all Virginia. The people early recognized in him the rising hero, nor was it long until his further services were needed, for hostilities were at hand. Before midsummer of this same year, 1754, Washington, in command of a small body of militia near a place called Great Meadows, fired on a body of Frenchmen under the command of Jumonville, and the latter with nine of his men was killed;¹⁷² and the great war that was to shake two continents, and to determine the language and civilization of the future United States was begun.

A VIEW OF THE BELLIGERENTS

It is in place here to take a momentary view of the two peoples, as we find them in America, who were about to grapple in a great final struggle for the control of the continent. There are many points of resemblance. Both had occupied portions of the continent for nearly two hundred years, both were intensely religious, representing different forms of Christianity, and each was bigoted and intolerant and jealous of its rival. However we may admire the religious fervor of the Puritan, the Presbyterian, and the Huguenot, we must equally admire the French Catholic, who made his home in the wilderness and gave his life to the conversion of the savage. The religious zeal of both peoples had, however, become greatly modified during the two cen-

¹⁷² But on July 4 Washington capitulated at Fort Necessity.

turies that had passed, owing chiefly to the coming of many who sought only adventure or gain. In 1750 we look in vain through the English colonies for the Puritan of the Winthrop type, and it is almost equally difficult to find in Canada the spirit of Allouez or Marquette. Again, the English and French were alike in personal courage, in a jealous love of the respective countries from which they had sprung; and both had imbibed that spirit of wild freedom inseparable from a life in the wilderness. But the points of difference between the English and the French in America are more striking than their points of agreement.

First, as to the motive or object in settling in America. The chief object of the English was to find a home for themselves, far from persecution, where by patient industry they might build up a commonwealth; while secondarily, they would lead the red man to embrace Christianity.

The object of the Frenchman was threefold. First, he would build up a great New France which should be the glory of his native land; second, he would convert the native red man to his religion; and third, he sought the wealth to be derived from the fur trade. These are comprehensive statements. It was the French government, as reflected in its loyal sons, that aimed to build up a New France; it was the French Jesuit, typifying the religious sense of the nation, who labored to convert the Indian; it was the French settler who strove for the wealth of the fur trade.

But while the Englishman would found a new England by migrating in thousands, the Frenchman would do the same for his nation, not by migrating, but by making Frenchmen of the Indians. When the Englishman wished to marry, he found a wife among his fellow-immigrants, or imported her from England; the Frenchman desiring a

wife found her in the forest—he married a squaw. The English generally migrated in families, or congregations; the French who came were mostly men, and thus they lacked the indispensable corner stone of the State—the family. One great blunder made by the Frenchman was his failure to diagnose the Indian character. He evidently believed the Indian more capable of civilization than he was. The Frenchman spent himself to lift up the Indian, but more frequently the Indian dragged him down to barbarism; he married the squaw and raised a family, not of Frenchmen, but of barbarians. The French made many thousands of nominal converts among the natives, but there is little evidence that the Indian was changed in his habits or character by his conversion, or that he was led to aspire to a higher civilization.

A second important difference between the two peoples is found in their relation to their respective home governments. The English colonies had been left by their sovereign to develop themselves, and they grew strong and self-reliant. Two of them, Rhode Island and Connecticut, chose their own governors; and aside from the ever irritable Navigation Acts, they all practically made their own laws. They were very democratic, and almost independent; and, indeed, but for want of one thing, union, they constituted a nation. The French colonies, on the other hand, were wholly dependent on the Crown. From the beginning the king had fostered and fed and coddled them, and they never learned to stand alone. As a whole they were a centralized, hierarchical despotism. As men they experienced an individual freedom, born of life in the wilderness, but political or religious freedom was beyond their dreams or desires.

Again, the English colonies opened wide their doors to

all the world. The English Protestants were intolerant of Catholics, it is true, and even of one another; but their religious strife was chiefly intellectual and theological, and they continued to dwell together on the same soil. The French, on the other hand, excluded all except Catholics from their new domains. The French Huguenots, who were ill at ease among the English in Carolina, petitioned their king to permit them to settle in Louisiana, where they might still be Frenchmen and still be his subjects; but the bigoted monarch answered that he did not drive heretics from his kingdom only to be nourished in his colonies, and they remained with the English and became a part of them.¹⁷⁸ And the narrow-minded king reaped the reward of his folly; while the English in America numbered, at the opening of the French and Indian War, at least twelve hundred thousand souls, the French population barely reached sixty thousand. The French king might have had, without expense to himself, a quarter of a million industrious people of his own nation dwelling in the Mississippi Valley; but he threw away the opportunity, and that vast fertile region was now peopled only by roving Indian hordes. The French had control of a territory twenty times as great as that held by the English; but the English had a population twenty times as great as the French.

In one respect, and one only, the French had the advantage over the English; they were a unit. The French king had but to command, and all Canada was ready to rush to arms. The English were composed of separate colonies—republics, we may say; each enjoying much liberty without the responsibility of nationality; each joined loosely to the mother country, but wholly separate politically from all its

¹⁷⁸ Parkman, "Montcalm and Wolfe," Vol. I, p. 22.

fellows. Each colony had its own interests and lived its own life, and it was difficult to awaken them to a sense of common danger. Governor Dinwiddie, in 1754, appealed frantically and in vain to rouse his neighbor colonists to action. Indeed, it required two or three years' warfare to awaken the English to a sense of their duty, and the result was that the French during that period were successful on every side.

The far-sighted Franklin saw this great defect—this want of union; and at a colonial conference held at Albany, in 1754, and known as the Albany Congress, he brought about a plan of union, known as the Albany Plan. This plan provided for a president-general to be appointed by the Crown, and for a council to be elected by the legislatures. But the English government rejected the plan because it was too democratic, while the colonists rejected it because they feared it would increase the power of the king, and the colonies plunged into this war, as into those that preceded it, without concerted action.

An important consideration at the opening of this great struggle for a continent was the attitude of the Indians. Had all the tribes thrown their weight to either side, the other side would doubtless have been defeated. But it happened that they were divided. The majority of the Indians, however, were with the French, and most naturally so. The Frenchmen flattered and won them by treating them as brethren, by adopting their customs, by marrying into their tribes, and by showing a zeal for their souls' salvation. The Frenchman readily fell into the Indian habits. Even the great Canadian governor, Frontenac, is said to have donned their costume at times and entered the uncouth dance, where

he would leap as high and yell as loud as any child of the forest.

The Englishman, on the other hand, never received the native red man on the same footing with himself, never cared for his confidence, nor desired him as a neighbor. Often the two races were friendly, but a mutual suspicion was never absent.¹⁷⁴ Moreover, the English wanted land, which the Indians were loath to yield, and the French wanted furs, which they were always ready to furnish. In view of these facts it is not strange that the majority of the natives sided with the French. Nearly all the Algonquin tribes were French in their sympathies. But the very notable exception we find in the fierce, warlike Six Nations, or Iroquois, of northern New York, who cast their lot with the English. The enmity of the Iroquois toward the French had its origin in a little skirmish they had in 1609 with Champlain, when a few of their chiefs were slain. But there was another cause. The Iroquois and the Algonquins were deadly, hereditary enemies, and so they had been from a time far back, beyond the coming of the white man to North America; and the intimacy between the Algonquins and the French proved a serious barrier to the latter when they sought to make friends of the Iroquois.

Nevertheless, for a quarter of a century before the opening of the war we are treating, the French were making every effort to win the Six Nations, and they would doubtless have succeeded but for the counter influence of one man, William Johnson, the British superintendent of Indian affairs. Johnson spent many years among the Iroquois, knew their language as he knew his own, married a Mohawk squaw, and was made a sachem of their tribe. As Sloane

¹⁷⁴ Sloane, "The French War and the Revolution," p. 34.

says, his attitude toward the Indians was French rather than English, and it was he above all men who held the Iroquois firm for the English during the French and Indian War.

DUQUESNE AND ACADIA

The colonial wars treated in the preceding chapter did not originate in America; they were but reflections or echoes of far greater wars in Europe. But the French and Indian War had its origin on this side of the water, and was caused by boundary disputes between two great European powers concerning their possessions in North America. And yet this was closely connected with the tremendous war that raged simultaneously in Europe, known as the Seven Years' War, in which Frederick the Great of Prussia contended, at first single-handed, and later in alliance with the British, against the powerful French and Austrian monarchies. The formal declaration of war between France and England was not made till May, 1756; but hostilities broke out in America two years before this, and the year 1755 is marked by two of the most memorable events of the war. These were the ill-starred expedition of Braddock against Fort Duquesne and the drastic dealing with Acadia by the English.

One Sunday, late in February, 1755, a British general of stately bearing and in bright uniform came to the home of Governor Dinwiddie at Williamsburg, Virginia. The governor wrote to a friend: "He is, I think, a very fine officer, and a sensible, considerate gentleman. He and I live in great harmony." The gentleman was General Braddock, and he was accompanied by his secretary, William Shirley, son of the famous governor of Massachusetts. Braddock had come to be commander in chief of the English

and American forces against the rising enemy on the north and west. The ministry had decided on three expeditions—against Niagara, Crown Point, and Fort Duquesne, respectively; and to the last of these Braddock was now to address himself. Three months after reaching Williamsburg we find him at the Ohio Company's old trading station, now Cumberland, Maryland, with a motley army of some thirteen hundred men, partly British regulars, partly provincial troops, with a sprinkling of Indians. After much delay and trouble in collecting wagons, food, and forage, which caused the commanding general, as well as his quartermaster, to "storm like a rampant lion," the army was ready to begin its march across the mountains to attack Fort Duquesne.

Fort Duquesne was a French post situated at the junction of the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers, the spot now occupied by the great iron city of Pittsburg, with its teeming life and its hurrying thousands. When Washington made his famous trip to Saint-Pierre, two years before, he took notice of this spot, and reported to his governor that an English fort should be planted there. A few months later a body of men were sent to carry out Washington's suggestion; but ere they had finished their task, several hundred French and Indians floated down the Allegheny and drove them away, and erected Fort Duquesne. To capture this fort Braddock would now lead his army, and he seemed never to dream of failure. Braddock was haughty and self-willed, but he was brave and not without ability. He refused to be advised by those who knew more of the foe and the country than himself. He looked with contempt on the Virginia troops, and made them feel their littleness in his eyes at all times; nevertheless, one of them, George Washington, was a member of his staff.

Three hundred axmen were sent before to cut a road, and the army began to move from Cumberland early in June. The march was long and toilsome, but the spring was in full bloom and there was much to attract the lover of nature's beauty. Over the hills and ridges, streams and deep gullies, up the steep mountain slopes, the brave, hilarious soldiers marched through the great primeval forest, and the woods rang with their shouts and music. The road was cut but twelve feet wide, and the army, four miles in length, seemed like a gigantic centipede trailing its weary way through the wilderness.¹⁷⁵ On the 9th of July, when they had come within eight miles of Duquesne, at a point where Turtle Creek flows into the Monongahela, surrounded by the dense forest and under the shadow of a line of hills, they suddenly met the enemy whom they sought. Braddock was surprised, but not ambuscaded, as is commonly stated. The enemy were about nine hundred strong; two thirds of them were Indians, the rest French and Canadians. They were led by Captain Beaujeu, who, seeing the English advance column, turned to the motley hordes behind him, waved his hat, and gave the signal. Instantly there was a terrible war whoop and the French and Indian forces spread into two parts to the right and left, hid behind trees, and opened a murderous fire. The English column wheeled into line and returned the fire with the utmost courage and steadiness. The enemy were scarcely visible from the beginning; they had adopted the true Indian mode of fighting. The first moments gave promise of English success. The French commander, Beaujeu, was killed at the beginning of the encounter, and most of the French and Canadians wavered and fled. But not so with the Indians. They quickly saw

¹⁷⁵ See Parkman's "Montcalm and Wolfe," Vol. I, Chap. VII.

their opportunity—hiding places in plenty, with an enemy before them that did not know or would not adopt their mode of warfare. They swarmed on both flanks of the English in great numbers, firing as rapidly as they could load from behind trees, bushes, and fallen timber.

The English fired volley after volley, though they could see no enemy—only numberless puffs of smoke from which the bullets whizzed into their ranks like hail. At length they huddled together in disorder and confusion. Braddock heard the firing and came with all speed with the main army; but he knew nothing of Indian warfare, and he was too proud to learn. He galloped forward and back among the men, striving with threats and oaths to form them into battle lines, refusing to adopt Indian methods, and striking down with his sword men who hid behind trees. The Virginia troops knew how to fight Indians, and they might have won the day had they been allowed to use Indian methods, as they attempted to do; but the haughty general refused to permit it, and they, like the regulars, stood and quivered like frightened quail as they were mowed down by the invisible enemy. The scene was one of horror beyond description. The ground was covered with dead and wounded, and these were trampled in the mad rush of men and horses, while the yells of the savage hordes in the distance, heard above the din of battle, added to the general pandemonium. Braddock dashed to and fro like a madman, and at last when his army had stood this frightful slaughter for three hours and more than two-thirds of it was cut down, he ordered a retreat.

The battle was almost over. Four horses had been shot under Braddock, and he mounted a fifth, when a bullet was buried in his lungs, and he pitched from his horse and lay quivering and speechless on the ground. The ruined army

was soon in full retreat, but only a third was left alive and unhurt. Of eighty-six officers sixty-three were killed or disabled. The escape of Washington seemed miraculous; two horses were killed under him, and four bullets pierced his clothing. Young Shirley, Braddock's secretary, fell dead with a bullet in his brain. The loss of the French and Canadians was slight, but a considerable number of the Indians were killed.

The fallen general was carried on a litter back over the rough-hewn road that had brought him to the field of death. His wound was mortal. He was at times silent for many hours, then he would say, "Who would have thought it? Who would have thought it?" It is said that during his last hours he could not bear the sight of the British regulars, but murmured praises for the Virginia troops and hoped he would live to reward them.¹⁷⁰ Four days after the battle he died, near the Great Meadows where Washington had fought Jumonville the year before. His body was buried in the middle of the road, as he had requested, and, lest the spot be discovered by the Indians, the whole army—men, horses and wagons—passed over his grave.

Acadia had been settled by the French before the founding of Jamestown; but it was soon in the possession of the English, and then of the French, and so it passed back and forth like a shuttle between the two nations till the Treaty of Utrecht, when it became a permanent English possession. But its inhabitants were French, and, led by the priests and encouraged by the home government, they retained the language and customs of France, refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the British king. Furthermore, they fostered a

¹⁷⁰ Parkman's "Montcalm and Wolfe," Vol. I, p. 226.

spirit of hostility to the British government, and it was feared that an outbreak against the newly founded English settlement at Halifax might occur at any time. Governor Duquesne wrote in October, 1754, to one of his subordinates, urging that a plausible pretext for attacking the English be devised. At the same time the English, led by Governor Shirley, were planning the most drastic measures—no less than the removal by force of the entire French population from Acadia. Plans were ripened during the following winter, and in the early spring the expedition set forth from Boston under Colonel Monckton, with John Winslow, great-grandson of a Mayflower Pilgrim, second in command. On the first of June they sailed into the Bay of Fundy and anchored within a few miles of Beau Sejour, the only military post on the peninsula still in possession of French troops. After a short resistance the fort surrendered to the English, who, some months later, began to carry into effect their cruel decision to deport the Acadians. They had ample authority, for the Lords of Trade in London had written that the Acadians had no right to their lands, if they persisted in refusing to take the oath.

The Acadians, some seventeen thousand in number, were a simple, frugal, industrious, and very ignorant people, who lived apart from all the rest of the world. They raised their herds and cultivated their little farms in contentment, and made their clothes from wool and flax of their own raising. They often had quarrels and litigations among themselves, but in the main they were happy and contented. The British government up to this time had been fairly lenient with them; it had granted them the free exercise of their religion and had exempted them from military service. Nevertheless, the Acadians, led by their superiors, had fostered an

unfriendly, almost a hostile, spirit against their government during the more than forty years of British rule.

After the surrender of Beau Sejour, the English thought it a favorable moment for exacting the oath of allegiance which had so long been refused. But it was again refused, and the painful business of deporting the Acadians began early in the autumn. The scenes at Grand Pré, made famous by Longfellow's "Evangeline," furnish a fair sample of the whole. This section was under the charge of Winslow, and he wrote that the duty before him was the most disagreeable of his life. Grand Pré was a quiet rural village, surrounded by broad meadows, their green slopes dotted with farmhouses. It was now late in August, and the waving fields of grain betokened the industry and thrift of the simple inhabitants. Winslow, with a body of troops, was encamped at the village, and he issued an order for the men of the community to assemble at the church on a certain day to hear a decree of the king; and the glittering bayonets of the soldiers warned them in unmistakable language of their peril if they refused. The men, clad in homespun and wholly unarmed, assembled in the church to the number of four hundred and eighteen, and heard the fatal decree that their houses and lands and cattle were forfeited to the Crown, and that they, with their families and household goods, were to be removed from the province. The men were thunderstruck at the announcement; however, as Winslow says, many of them did not then believe that the decree would be carried out. But it was carried out with merciless severity, and within a few weeks hundreds of them were launched upon the sea for unknown shores, while the lowing of the herds and the howling of the dogs could alone be heard from the desolate farms that had so lately been the

scene of life and peace and plenty. Other similar scenes occurred in various parts of Acadia; but the majority of the people escaped to the forests and could not be captured. More than six thousand in all were deported, families usually being kept together. They were scattered among the English colonies from New Haven to Georgia. Many of them afterward returned to Canada, some to their old homes in Acadia; and a large number of them made their way to the west bank of the Mississippi, in Louisiana, where their descendants are still to be found.

It is difficult to pronounce judgment on this merciless dealing of the English with these simple, untutored people of Acadia. History has generally pronounced the deed a harsh and needless one, that has left an indelible stain upon its perpetrators. Assuming that the English had a perfect right to the province, they employed, after forty years of forbearance, perhaps the only means, aside from extermination, by which they could secure their ends and crush opposition to their government. Assuming, however, that might does not make right, the English should not have owned Acadia at all. They held it only by the doubtful right of conquest. The land had been settled and was occupied by the French, and, if there is a standard of human rights above the rulings of kings and governments and the results of unholy wars, these people should have been permitted to choose their own sovereign. Viewing the matter in this light (as the Acadians doubtless did), we must pronounce these simple people the victims of a dastardly outrage, and they must ever elicit the sympathy of mankind.

At the time when the English planned the two campaigns against Fort Duquesne and Acadia, they also decided on two other expeditions—against Niagara and Crown

Point. The movement against Niagara was to be led by Governor Shirley, but it came to nothing; that against Crown Point was led by General William Johnson. He had nearly four thousand troops, mostly from New England, and with this army he met Dieskau, a brave and able French commander, with a somewhat smaller army. Several hundred on each side were Indians. The battle occurred near Lake George, and Dieskau was defeated and mortally wounded. The honor of this, the only English victory of the year, belonged rightly to General Lyman of Connecticut. Johnson, however, assumed the honor; and through his friends at court he was rewarded with knighthood from the Crown and a bonus of £5000.

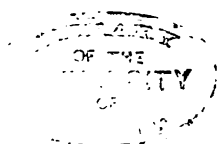
The following year, 1756, witnessed but few changes in the war situation. Both nations formally declared war in the spring. Lord Loudon was made the chief commander of the British forces, with General Abercrombie as second in command. The Marquis de Montcalm became the commander of the French. The English planned great things and accomplished almost nothing, while Montcalm captured Oswego, with fourteen hundred prisoners and large stores of ammunition. The only English success, aside from building a fort on the Tennessee River to guard against Indians in that part of the country who were in sympathy with the French, was the destruction of Kittanning. This was an Indian village on the Allegheny River, forty-five miles above Fort Duquesne, and was the base of many Indian raids on the Pennsylvania frontier. Early in September, Colonel John Armstrong, with three hundred men, surprised the town one morning at daybreak. A desperate battle ensued; the Indians were defeated and their town was utterly destroyed, and for several years thereafter the



1690 — ROBERT DINWIDDIE — 1770.

BY ALLAN RAMSAY, 1760.

From the original portrait in possession of Miss Mary Dinwiddie, London, England.



settlers of western Pennsylvania had rest from Indian massacres. The year 1757 was even more humiliating to British arms than the preceding year had been. Lord Loudon planned the destruction of Louisburg, the powerful French fortress on Cape Breton Island that had surrendered twelve years before to the New England farmers and fishermen. Loudon embarked in June from New York with a large fleet, and was joined at Halifax by Admiral Holborne with another. With nearly twelve thousand men they made ready to attack the powerful stronghold. But Loudon was wanting in skill as a commander, as well as in the mettle of a true soldier. Hearing that Louisburg was guarded by a French fleet, and that the garrison had been increased to seven thousand men, he abandoned the enterprise and returned to New York.

While the English cause languished for want of a leader, the French had found one of great vigor and ability in the person of Montcalm. This intrepid warrior, hearing that Loudon had drawn heavily on the militia of New York, and had left the northern frontier of that colony half protected, determined to strike a telling blow for his country by attacking Fort William Henry at the head of Lake George. This fort was formed of embankments of gravel, surmounted by a rampart of heavy timbers, and mounted seventeen cannon. Colonel Monro, a brave Scotch veteran, was in command, and the garrison numbered twenty-two hundred men. It was rumored in early July that the French under Montcalm were contemplating an attack; but Monro felt fairly secure, owing to the strength of his fort, the bravery of his men, and the fact that General Webb, with sixteen hundred additional troops lay at Fort Edward, but fourteen miles away.

The rumor proved true. Stealthily through the mid-summer forest, along the shore of the silvery lake, over the streams, and among the hills, crept the army of Montcalm. It was seven and a half thousand strong—sixteen hundred were Indians. On the 3d of August the wild war whoop and the rattle of musketry from among the timbers told the garrison that the siege was begun. The spot was fast becoming historic; here Dieskau had received his death-wound and here Sir William Johnson had won his knighthood. But this third encounter between the same peoples in this lonely forest seemed to promise victory to the French. Monro saw his danger, but he refused the French demand to surrender. He sent messages daily to General Webb, begging for reinforcements. Webb was within hearing of the cannonade, and held more than a thousand men in idleness; but he refused to raise a finger for the rescue of the fort. He sent a letter to Monro, advising him to surrender. The bearer fell into the hands of the Indians, and the letter fell into the hands of Montcalm, who sent it to Monro, renewing his demand for the surrender of the fort. For several days longer the roar of the cannon echoed from the neighboring mountains, when the white flag was raised over the fast-crumbling walls. The English were to march out with the honors of war, to be escorted by French troops to Fort Edward, and not to serve again for eighteen months.

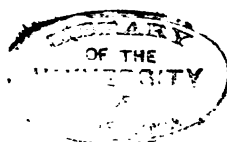
And now was enacted one of the bloody deeds characteristic of early America—a deed of which only savage man is capable. The French commander used every effort to restrain his savage allies, but a taste of blood had awakened their savage nature and turned them to demons; the practice of generations was too strong to be overcome by the restraints of civilized warfare. They rushed into the



1724 — GEORGE AUGUSTUS, VISCOUNT HOWE — 1758.

BY SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS, 1756.

From the original portrait in possession of Charles Henry Hart, Esq., Philadelphia.



fort and tomahawked the sick and wounded, the women and children. But this did not appease their thirst for blood. They even attacked the column of marching soldiers. Montcalm ran among them with wild gestures, striving with threats and entreaties to restrain them. "Kill me," he cried, "kill me, but spare the English who are under my protection." But the savage hordes were not restrained until they had slain eighty of the New Hampshire men in the rear of the column.

WILLIAM PITT

The fortunes of England were now at the lowest ebb. For three years she had suffered one defeat after another, and now, at the close of the year 1757, there was not an English fort or hamlet in the basin of the St. Lawrence or in the Ohio Valley. The chief cause of this condition was a want of ability in the conduct of the war. The Duke of Newcastle, who was at the head of the British cabinet, was little fitted to carry on the great business of the nation. Above all things England wanted a man of ability and decision of character at the head of affairs, and at length she found one in the person of the rising statesman, William Pitt, the greatest Englishman of his generation. Pitt came into power in the summer of 1757, and his comprehensive mind soon grasped the situation. His touch was the touch of the master; he soon changed the succession of defeats to a succession of victories, and to him above all men was due the fact that England and not France became the possessor of North America.

In the early spring of 1758 Pitt sent a powerful fleet commanded by Admiral Boscawen to capture Louisburg. The fleet consisted of twenty-two line-of-battle ships and

fifteen frigates, and bore ten thousand troops under the command of General Amherst. With Amherst was associated the most brilliant young military commander of England—James Wolfe. After a long and tempestuous voyage, the fleet lined up in the waters of Louisburg early in June, and on the 7th a landing was effected under the leadership of Wolfe. The outposts were soon captured, and the British cannon opened on the French fortress. For many weeks the incessant roar of the bombardment told of the coming doom of Louisburg. By the end of July the walls began to crumble, the French garrison of fifty-six hundred men surrendered to their conquerors, and for the second time the fort passed into English hands. This was the first important British victory in the French and Indian War; and, with all honor to Boscawen, to Amherst, and to Wolfe, the chief glory of the victory must be awarded to William Pitt. Thus began a series of English successes that was to continue to the end of the war; but the series was broken by one disastrous reverse.

It was during these same weeks when the British shells were bursting over the walls of Louisburg that Abercrombie and Lord Howe led an army through the wilderness of northern New York, only to be defeated by the great French commander, Montcalm. The army was the largest ever yet assembled in America, comprising fifteen thousand men—six thousand British regulars and nine thousand provincials, or, as we must soon begin to call them, Americans. The nominal leader was General Abercrombie, the real one Lord Howe, a young man of great vigor who may be favorably compared with Wolfe. We find also in this army John Stark and Israel Putnam, who afterward became famous in a greater war. The object of the army was to capture Fort

Ticonderoga, on the shore of Lake Champlain, now held by Montcalm with a force of not less than four thousand men. Howe laid his plans with great skill and approached the fort, but at the first skirmish with the French pickets he was shot dead.¹⁷⁷ His death was an irreparable blow to the English, who nevertheless attacked the fort again and again with heroic bravery. The stupid Abercrombie, himself remaining out of danger, imposed an impossible task upon his brave artillery. Six times in a single day they dashed against the fort with ever increasing slaughter. They were mowed down in hundreds by the hail of musketry, and on the evening of that fatal day 1944 of their number lay dead on the field¹⁷⁸—a greater loss of life than was suffered by either side in any battle of the Revolution. The broken army retreated into the wilderness, and Ticonderoga remained in the hands of the French.

There was one ray of sunshine, however, to cheer the defeated army. Colonel John Bradstreet with three thousand provincials set out in August to capture Fort Frontenac. Crossing Lake Ontario in open boats, they landed on the Canadian shore, and in a few days the coveted prize was in their possession. This was a serious blow to the French, as the communication between Quebec and the Ohio Valley was now completely severed.

It remains to say a word of the third great expedition of the year—that against Fort Duquesne. This was in command of General Forbes, ably assisted by George Washington with nineteen hundred Virginia troops, John Armstrong with twenty-seven hundred Pennsylvanians, and the

¹⁷⁷ Howe was a brother of Admiral Howe and General Howe of the Revolution.

¹⁷⁸ Sloane's "French War and the Revolution," p. 69.

brave Swiss officer, Colonel Bouquet.¹⁷⁹ The route selected was not the road cut out by Braddock three years before, but a shorter and more difficult one, over the mountains from the head waters of the Juniata and down the western slope to the Allegheny. Forbes was afflicted with a mortal illness and had to be carried on a litter, but his heart was strong and brave, and the labored march was continued. Major Grant, with eight hundred men, was sent ahead to decoy a portion of the garrison from their shelter. But the French came out in unexpected numbers, and in a sharp conflict Grant lost almost three hundred men.

So slow was the progress of the main army that when winter approached many weary miles were yet to be covered. A council of war was about to decide to abandon the project for the season, when word was received that the French garrison had been greatly weakened and could not endure a siege. The news infused new life into the expedition, and it was decided to press forward. Washington was sent ahead with twenty-five hundred men, but when he reached the place he found nothing but smoking ruins. The French had fired the fort and abandoned it; and this much-coveted spot, which had cost Braddock and his brave army so dearly, passed into English hands without a blow. The place was now named Pittsburg in honor of William Pitt, who had inspired the expedition; and the great city that grew up on the spot retained the name, and is a perpetual monument to the memory of the great commoner, whose unswerving friendship for the colonies during the Revolution can never be forgotten.

¹⁷⁹ This army, about six thousand in number, was composed almost exclusively of Americans.



1712—LOUIS JOSEPH, MARQUIS DE MONTCALM—1759.

From the original portrait in the possession of the Marquis de Montcalm, Paris, France.



FALL OF QUEBEC

Pitt's success during his first year of power was marvelous. He had played a winning hand in the terrible war that convulsed Europe at the time, and had won the most signal victories in America. Louisburg, Frontenac, and Duquesne had fallen before his victorious armies, and the French hold on the Ohio country was entirely broken. Pitt now planned still greater things for the coming year—no less than the complete conquest of New France, and the expulsion of French authority from all North America. General Stanwix was to guard the frontier between Pittsburg and the lakes; General Prideaux and Sir William Johnson were to advance on Montreal by way of Niagara; while Amherst, who had been made commander in chief, was to lead an army to the Champlain country where Abercrombie had been so drastically beaten the year before. But the most important expedition of the season was to be sent against Quebec under the command of Wolfe.

Prideaux proceeded to Niagara and invested the fort; but at the beginning of the bombardment he was killed by a bursting shell, and Sir William Johnson took command. After a siege of three weeks the fort surrendered, but Johnson made no further effort to reach Montreal. By this victory the entire upper Ohio Valley passed to the control of the English. Amherst gathered his army of ten thousand men at Lake George in June, and the next month he sailed down the lake to Ticonderoga; but the French abandoned the fort for Crown Point, and a little later retreated from this point, taking up a strong position on Isle-aux-Noix in the Richelieu River. Amherst then spent the summer building useless forts, and made no effort to support Wolfe, as he was expected to do.

Canada was in a deplorable condition in 1759. The harvest of the year before had been meager, and a barrel of flour cost two hundred francs.¹⁸⁰ Many of the horses and cattle had been killed for food, and the people were on short rations ere the summer had begun. And besides, thieving officials robbed the people, and British men-of-war guarded the mouth of the St. Lawrence. A bitter quarrel between Montcalm and the boastful Canadian governor, Vaudreuil, added to the confusion. Their dispute was carried to the court at Versailles, and Montcalm was sustained; but the one great desire of his heart, an additional army of veterans, was denied him.

Quebec is situated on a promontory in the northwestern angle made by the junction of the St. Charles River with the St. Lawrence, and from the former extends a table-land eastward to the beautiful falls of the Montmorency, about seven miles from the city. This plateau was occupied by Montcalm with an army of nearly seventeen thousand men, regulars, Canadians, and Indians. Back of the city, on the north bank of the St. Lawrence and westward from the mouth of the St. Charles, lay the Plains of Abraham,¹⁸¹ which had been left unguarded, as the rocky steep was supposed to be inaccessible from the river.

General Wolfe was still in his youth; he had just passed his thirty-second year. In appearance he was uncomely, and his health was delicate; but the fire of genius sparkled from his eyes. The son of a British general, he had imbibed his martial spirit from childhood. From the age of fifteen he had served his king, and while still a boy he was noted for deeds of skill and daring. At the capture of Louisburg his

¹⁸⁰ Parkman, Vol. II, p. 172.

¹⁸¹ So called from Abraham Martin, who had formerly been the owner of the plateau.

reputation was greatly enhanced, and the keen eye of Pitt now singled him out to command the perilous expedition to Quebec. Wolfe had spent the winter in England and had won the heart of a beautiful maiden; and now he gave her and his beloved mother a fond and final good-by, and launched out upon the journey from which he was not to return.

His fleet, bearing eight thousand men and commanded by Admiral Saunders, entered the St. Lawrence in June, and on the 26th it was anchored off the island of Orleans, but a few miles below the city of Quebec. In the English army we find Colonel Monckton of Acadian fame, and Guy Carleton, William Howe, and Isaac Barre—all afterward famous in the Revolution. Wolfe made his camp on the eastern bank of the Montmorency, near its mouth, and opposite the encampment of Montcalm. The dreary weeks of the summer were spent by the two armies lying, each in view of the other, waiting and watching for some unexpected advantage. Wolfe was anxious for a general engagement; but Montcalm, distrusting his Canadian and Indian allies, steadily avoided one. On the last day of July the impatient Wolfe, with a large detachment of his army, forded the Montmorency at low tide and made a desperate assault on the French position; but the ever watchful Montcalm was on the alert, and the English were driven back with the loss of four hundred and fifty men. The French had attempted to destroy the British fleet with fire ships, but in vain. The old wooden vessels, laden with pitch, powder, and other combustibles, were sent burning down the river, and grandly they lighted the heavens and the surrounding country; but the English grappled with them and ran them ashore or sent them onward toward the sea.

As the summer wore away and the situation remained unchanged the disappointment of Wolfe threw him into a dangerous fever. He had lost nearly a thousand men, and the enemy did not seem to be weakened. He had expected reinforcements from Amherst, but he looked and longed in vain. For many weeks he had kept up an incessant bombardment, day and night; but, aside from burning the lower part of Quebec, this had brought him little advantage. At length it was determined to attempt to scale the heights of Abraham and bombard the city from there, or force Montcalm into an engagement in defending it. The resolve was a daring and heroic one, but the desperate courage of Wolfe was unlimited. He had just risen from a bed of illness; his fever had subsided, but he was further afflicted with an incurable disease, and he had reached the condition in which a soldier is at his best—he had no hope of returning alive to his native land. To his physician he said, “I know perfectly well that you cannot cure me; but pray make me up so that I may be without pain for a few days, and able to do my duty.”¹⁸²

The English broke up their camp, and on that moonless night before the fateful day they moved as silently as possible up the river till they had passed the sleeping city. Wolfe had a strange presentiment of death. To a lifelong friend on his flagship he gave a miniature of his affianced bride and requested that it be returned to her. While on the deck of one of the boats he recited with deep pathos portions of Gray’s “Elegy,” especially the stanza ending with—

“The paths of glory lead but to the grave.”

Some hours before dawn the English vessels landed the

¹⁸² Parkman, Vol. II, p. 268.



1717 — JEFFREY, LORD AMHERST — 1797.

BY THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH.

From the original portrait in the National Portrait Gallery, London, England.



soldiers on the north shore, beneath the rocky steeps that led to the Plains of Abraham, and the men were soon clambering up the cliffs toward the summit. At the coming of dawn the ever vigilant Montcalm was amazed to find that his enemy had outwitted him—that the heights above the city were crowned with long and threatening lines of British soldiers, almost five thousand in number. The French commander was stunned at the changed conditions before him. He saw that he must do one of two things: abandon the city to its fate and save his army by flight, or grapple with the enemy in a final, desperate struggle for Canada. His army, though superior in numbers, was composed largely of Indians and unskilled Canadians, and its fighting qualities were much inferior to those of the British veterans. Montcalm chose to fight, and before noon the two armies were engaged in a fierce, determined conflict. The battle was short and decisive. The French gave way, and ran for their lives; and a few days later the city of Quebec passed into the hands of its British conquerors.

But the English paid dearly for their victory. Their noble commander had fallen to rise no more. During the battle Wolfe had hurried here and there amid the hail of bullets, urging and encouraging his men. Twice wounded, he continued his efforts, until a ball lodged in his breast and he sank to the ground. He was carried to the rear and offered surgical aid. "There is no need," was his answer; "it is all over with me."

The next moment he was informed that the French were in full retreat. He received the news as one awakened from a dream, and immediately gave orders that a regiment be placed at the Charles River bridge to cut off the enemy's retreat. Then, turning upon his side, he murmured in a

low, sweet voice, "Now God be praised, I shall die in peace," and a moment later his soul had passed into eternity.

A similar fate befell Montcalm, the noblest Frenchman of them all. He had been ill supported by the governor, the envious Vaudreuil, and it seemed fitting now that he should yield his life with the cause which he could no longer sustain. While guiding his flying troops toward the city gates, he received a wound that caused his death. On being informed that his wound was mortal, he answered, "I am glad of it." He then asked how long he had to live, and was answered by the physician that he would probably die within twelve hours. "So much the better," was his reply; "I am happy that I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec."

The body of the dead commander, followed by a groaning and sobbing multitude, was borne through the dusky streets of the city. Beneath the floor of the Ursuline Convent, in a grave partially made by a bursting shell, the remains of the greatest Frenchman that ever set foot on American soil were laid to rest.

Measured by its results, the battle of Quebec was one of the most important ever fought in America. France made a desperate effort the following year to recover the city, but an English fleet came to the rescue, and the effort was vain. Montreal soon after surrendered to General Amherst, and French dominion in America was ended. The conflict had been raging at intervals for a hundred years. The sum of human life and treasure that had been sacrificed by the two rival powers for supremacy in North America was beyond all calculation. The fall of Quebec practically ended the war in America, but a treaty of peace was not signed until three years later, owing to the mighty conflict, known

as the Seven Years' War, that was still raging in Europe. Meantime Spain came to the rescue of France, and in consequence lost possession, for a time, of Cuba and the Philippine Islands, which were conquered by England in 1762.

The Treaty of Paris, signed in 1763, stands alone among treaties for the magnitude of its land cessions. England gave Cuba and the Philippines back to Spain and received Florida instead. France ceded to Spain, in compensation for Florida, the city of New Orleans and that vast tract west of the Mississippi known as "Louisiana."¹⁸³ To Great Britain France surrendered all the rest of her American possessions, including the Ohio Valley, Canada, Cape Breton, and all her islands except two in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Thus France lost everything, and henceforth that country had no footing on the mainland in the Western Hemisphere.¹⁸⁴

But these vast land cessions did not constitute the chief results of this conflict. As before stated, the trend of civilization in North America was to be determined by the outcome of the French and Indian War. Gallican civilization differed widely, as it does to this day, from Anglo-Saxon; and the result of this war was that the latter must prevail, not only in the future nation that was soon to come into existence, but also in the vast dominion on the north now wrested from France to become a part of the British Empire. The war did much also for the English colonists. It brought them into contact with one another, led them to see as never before that their interests and destiny were common, and

¹⁸³ This cession and that of Florida to England had been made the year before, but all belonged to the results of this war.

¹⁸⁴ Except the brief possession of Louisiana, 1800-1803, by Napoleon Bonaparte.

prepared them for the political union that was soon to follow. It awakened in them a self-consciousness, and, as will be noticed on a future page, brought out clearly the true relations between them and the mother country.

CONSPIRACY OF PONTIAC

The fall of French dominion in Canada and the West left the Algonquin Indians unprotected. Since the days of Marquette and La Salle the many tribes of this great family had lived in harmony with the French, and during the late war had been their faithful allies. But they now found in their new masters a people very different in their attitude toward the red man. The French had treated them as equals and brethren; but the English, while they often made friends among the various tribes, never went far out of their way to conciliate them. And now, at the close of this long war, their feelings toward the allies of their enemy were anything but cordial. The French had lavished presents upon them, but the English doled out blankets, guns, and ammunition with a sparing hand.

The proud-spirited Indians were exasperated at the patronizing air of the English, and the rising flame was secretly fanned by the Frenchmen who were still scattered among them. A conspiracy was soon formed to massacre all the English garrisons and settlers along the frontiers of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and the regions of the Great Lakes. The leader of this great movement was Pontiac, probably the ablest Indian warrior ever known to the white race in America. Pontiac belonged to the Ottawa tribe, but it is said that his mother was an Ojibway. He came to be chief of both tribes and of several others, and he was now the soul of the great conspiracy against the English. On a certain



DEATH OF GENERAL JAMES WOLFE, AT QUEBEC, SEPTEMBER 13, 1759.

By BENJAMIN WEST, 1771.

From the painting in Hampton Court Palace, London, England.

day in June, 1763, to be determined by a change of the moon, every English post was to be attacked and the garrison murdered, and all the whites were eventually to be driven eastward beyond the Alleghanies.

Pontiac visited many of the tribes and won them by his extraordinary eloquence. To others he sent messengers, each bearing a wampum belt and a red-stained hatchet. Almost every tribe of the great Algonquin family, and one tribe of the Six Nations, the Senecas, joined in this conspiracy. So adroitly was the plot managed that the attack was made almost simultaneously in all parts, and every English post fell into the hands of the savages except three,—Detroit, Fort Pitt, and Niagara. Of these three, Detroit, attacked by Pontiac in person, was successfully defended by Major Gladwyn, Fort Pitt was saved by Colonel Bouquet, and Niagara was not attacked.

The war continued at intervals for three years, when the Indians yielded, and agreed to a treaty of peace. Pontiac a few years later went to the Mississippi Valley, where he perished, like his great prototype, King Philip, by the hand of one of his own race. He was buried on the soil where St. Louis afterward rose, and "the race whom he hated with such burning rancor trample with unceasing footsteps over his forgotten grave."¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁵ Parkman (references to Parkman are to the 5th edition), "Conspiracy of Pontiac," Vol. II, p. 313.

NOTES

Duquette.—As stated in the text, Colonel Forbes was so ill when he crossed the mountains that he had to be carried on a litter. He died the following spring. The Indian allies threatened to refuse to follow a leader who had to be carried, when the witty interpreter, Conrad Weiser, quieted them by saying, "Brothers, this man is so terrible in war that we are obliged to confine him, . . . for if he

were let loose upon the world, he would deluge it with blood." (Drake's "Making of the Ohio Valley States," p. 76.) After Washington, sent by Forbes, had taken Fort Duquesne, Captain West, brother of the great artist, led a party to Braddock's battlefield to search for the bones of their comrades. Captain Halket, who was with the party, found two skeletons in each other's embrace, and recognized them by the teeth to be his father and brother. He fainted at the sight. (Parkman, Vol. I, p. 160.)

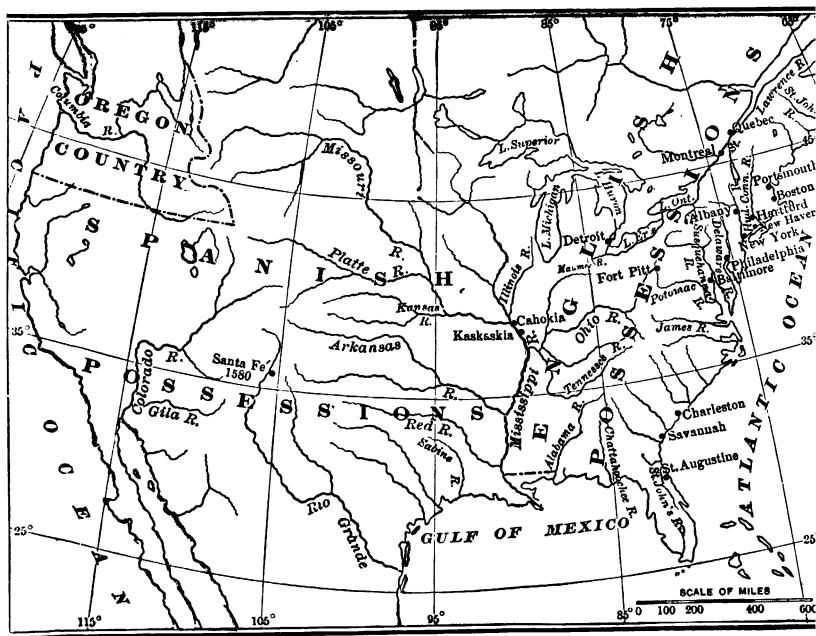
Pitt and Wolfe.—William Pitt, the "Great Commoner," was an aristocrat and by no means a democrat in the modern sense. His egotism was his greatest defect. "I am sure," said he, "that I can save this country and that nobody else can." Frederick the Great said of him, "England has long been in labor and at last has brought forth a man." Pitt was severely criticised for appointing Wolfe to lead the Quebec expedition. "Pitt's new general is mad," said ex-Premier Newcastle. "Mad, is he?" returned Pitt; "then I hope he will bite some other of my generals." This reminds one of President Lincoln's remark about General Grant. Being informed that Grant sometimes drank, he expressed a desire to know the brand of whisky Grant used, as he wished to give some to his other generals.

Washington's Modesty.—The Southern colonies took little part in the war during the last years of its progress. Even Washington, after the capture of Fort Duquesne, retired to his plantation, and was soon afterward elected to the Virginia House of Burgesses. Being called on to give an account of his military exploits, he rose in his seat, but stood abashed and unable to utter a word, when the speaker relieved him by saying, "Sit down, Mr. Washington, your modesty equals your valor, and that surpasses any power of language I possess."

Detroit, Pontiac.—Pontiac's plan for capturing Detroit was very skillful, but it miscarried. It was not unusual for the Indians to come into the fort and amuse the garrison with their rude games and dances. Pontiac's plan was to lead his warriors within the fort on a pretended friendly visit, each to hold a weapon hidden beneath his cloak, and at a given signal to fall upon the English and murder them to the last man. But on the day before this was to occur, an Indian girl, well known to the English, revealed the plot to Major Gladwyn, and when the Indians came they found the white men drawn up in battle line and armed to the teeth. Pontiac did not give the signal, but afterward attacked the fort, and besieged it unsuccessfully for several months, when it was relieved by General Bradstreet. Gladwyn and Pontiac had both fought on opposite sides in Braddock's battle near Fort Duquesne. Pontiac kept two secretaries, one to read his letters and the other to



BEFORE THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.



AFTER THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.



answer them, and he managed to keep each ignorant of what the other did. To carry on the war he secured loans from the Canadians and gave promissory notes written on birch bark, signing his name by making the totem of his tribe, the figure of an otter. Everyone was paid in full. On hearing that a trusted friend of his, a Canadian, had been offered a bushel of silver to betray him, Pontiac went to the friend's house and slept there all night to show his perfect confidence. The genius of Pontiac was very remarkable, and had his great powers been devoted to uplifting and civilizing his race, his name would hold a conspicuous and abiding place in history.

Sir William Johnson was a power among the Indians, and, with all his shortcomings, he did a great service for his countrymen in keeping the Iroquois (except the Senecas) from joining the great conspiracy. It was to him that Pontiac came to arrange a treaty of peace in 1766, making the long journey to Oswego, New York.

Michilimackinac. — The plan adopted at Michilimackinac was similar to that at Detroit. Here the Indians arranged to play a game of ball within the fort. The squaws were to stand by with concealed weapons. At a certain signal the players ran to the squaws, seized the weapons, and began the bloody work. The English were unprepared, and few of them escaped alive. At Presque Isle the garrison surrendered after a terrible siege of two days. Sandusky was captured by treachery, and every man in the fort was put to death except the commander, Ensign Paulli, who was carried to Detroit as a trophy. He was afterward given his choice of two things — to be put to death, or to marry a squaw. He was not put to death. (Drake, p. 85.)

CHAPTER X

COLONIAL LIFE

TO compare our own age with a former age only to show our cleverness and wisdom over those of our ancestors—to laud and magnify our intelligence and civilization at the expense of our forefathers—is at least of doubtful good taste. Certain it is that we, with the same environment, would be as our grandfathers were, would act, speak, and believe as they did. It cannot be demonstrated that the human race has, in historic times, advanced in mental capacity at all. Our modern civilization has produced no greater figures than Moses or Plato, Aristotle, Hannibal, or Cæsar. But to get nearer the time we are treating: Shakespeare died but nine years after the founding of Jamestown, and the same year Harvey discovered the circulation of the blood; yet with all our advance in civilization the world has not produced another Shakespeare, nor has any anatomist of our times made a discovery equal to that of Harvey. The year before the coming of the Pilgrim Fathers, Kepler discovered the three eternal astronomical laws that bear his name; and the year before Roger Williams hied away to his native land for a charter and the New England Confederacy was formed, Isaac Newton, the discoverer of the universal application of the law of gravitation, was born—and Keplers and Newtons since then have been rare. We may twit the seventeenth century for its religious intolerance, its belief in witchcraft, its ignorance

of steam navigation, of electric motors, and of sulphur matches—and here is the answer: “We gave you Shakespeare and Harvey and Kepler and Newton.” Verily, we are no better nor cleverer than were our ancestors; yet in one respect we are wiser than they—superior to former generations: we do not persecute our Roger Bacons and Galileos; we welcome them as prophets of good. And herein lies the secret of modern progress. The result has been marvelous. Our modern way of living is quite unlike that of our fathers of colonial times, and a glance at the latter is not only interesting, but also highly profitable.

POPULATION AND SOCIAL RANK

In 1760 the population of the thirteen colonies was approximately 1,600,000, about one fourth of whom were negro slaves. The people were scattered thinly over the vast region along the seaboard between New Brunswick and Florida, extending from the coast in decreasing numbers to the foothills of the Alleghanies. A few settlers and traders had occupied the valley of the Ohio, but in one colony only, Pennsylvania, had the settlers crossed the Alleghanies in any considerable numbers. About half the population lived on either side of Mason and Dixon's line. The most populous of the colonies was Virginia, Massachusetts coming second and Pennsylvania third. The largest city was Philadelphia, with 25,000 inhabitants; the only other cities exceeding 5,000 were Boston, New York, and Charleston.

In New England and the South, the people were almost wholly of English stock,¹⁸⁸ with a sprinkling of Scotch-Irish and other nationalities, and, especially in the South,

¹⁸⁸ New England was of more purely English stock than was the South.

of French Huguenots and Germans. In the middle colonies less than half the population was English; the Dutch of New York, the Germans of Pennsylvania, the Swedes of Delaware, and the Irish of all these colonies, together with small numbers of other nationalities, made up more than half the population.

In all the colonies there were well-drawn social lines; birth and pedigree counted for more than in the free America of to-day. The lowest stratum of society was composed of African slaves. Slavery existed in all the thirteen colonies, but the great bulk of the slaves, perhaps four fifths of them, were in the South. The institution did not pay at the North, and it never became an important social factor in that section. Few were the rights of the slaves before the law in any of the colonies; but with regard to their condition they may be divided into three classes. Those in New England and the middle colonies were for the most part domestic servants, and they usually received mild and humane treatment, were instructed in religion and morals, and were not infrequently admitted to the family circle. In Virginia and Maryland, where all social life centered round the owners of the great plantations, the slave was a body-servant to his master, or more frequently a plantation laborer, living a life of ignorance and contentment in his rude hut with his family. At certain seasons of the year his labor was arduous, but, on the whole, his condition was a happy one. Among this class we find mechanics and artisans, trained for the various duties about the plantation. A severer form of slavery marked the third class, which was found farther south, where the blacks were brought from Africa or the West Indies in great numbers, and where,

under the lash of the taskmaster, they wore away their lives in the rice swamps with unrequited toil. *

For many years there was no particular public sentiment against slavery; but about the time of the English Revolution, the Quakers and Germans of Pennsylvania began to be heard in opposing the institution on moral grounds. Thus began a public feeling against slavery that was destined to increase in volume for more than a hundred and fifty years, and at last to bring about the overthrow of the institution in America.

Next above the slaves, and not far above them, stood the indented white servants. Many of these were criminals, who, being thrust upon the colonies by the mother country, escaped imprisonment or death by a long term of servitude in America. Others were waifs from the streets of London, sold by their inhuman parents, or kidnapped by cruel traders and sold into servitude across the sea. Still others, known as redemptioners, or free-willers, voluntarily sold their services for a term of years, not usually more than five, in order to pay their passage across the sea. The ship-master would bring a company of them to an American port, and dispose of them to the planters, farmers, and merchants. The majority of the redemptioners, after serving their time, merged into the great middle class and became substantial citizens. Many left the scenes of their servitude and pushed out to the frontier, hewed their homes out of the frowning forest, and led a quiet, industrious life. Of the convict class, few were reformed by their service; the majority continued shiftless and worthless, and constituted, especially at the South, the most undesirable element of society. On election days and other special occasions they, and too often citizens of the more respectable classes,

would gather at the taverns and courthouses and spend the time drinking, gambling, and fighting. They also, with the free negroes, constituted the chief criminal classes in most of the colonies. Crime was punished by hanging, whipping, ducking, branding, and by exposure in the pillory and the stocks—less frequently by imprisonment, except in some of the northern colonies. The indented servants, like the slaves, were far more numerous in the South than in the North, but in no place were they socially or politically of much importance.¹⁸⁷

The next higher class, the most numerous of all, comprised the traders, shop-keepers, and small farmers—the rank and file, the bone and sinew of the land. Especially was this true of the northern and middle colonies. To this class belonged the great mass of the people, and they were for the most part prosperous, contented, and moderately educated, but not highly cultured. They were sturdy, honest, usually religious, and hospitable to strangers. There is no doubt that in morals the colonists as a whole were equal to any people in the world. Governor Spottswood of Virginia wrote to the bishop of London that in that colony he had observed less profaneness, drunkenness, feuds, and villainy than in any part of the world where his lot had been.

At the top of the social scale stood the ruling class, composed in New England of the clergy, magistrates, college professors, and other professional men; in New York of these classes, and, above all, of the great landholders along the Hudson; while in the South the proprietors of the great

¹⁸⁷ In Virginia the indented servants outnumbered the slaves for a hundred years. In all the colonies there were strict laws against their running away. Sometimes man and wife, or parents and children, were separated, to meet no more for years, or even for life. See Bolles's "Pennsylvania," p. 177 sq.

plantations were uppermost in society, and near them stood the professional men. In all the colonies social lines were distinctly drawn, more so than in our own times. The style of dress was, in some colonies, regulated by law, and no one was permitted to dress "above his degree." Worshipers in church and students in college were obliged to occupy seats according to their social standing. The upper class made much of birth and ancestry; and, whatever our prejudices against rank, it is significant that from this class came many of the leading statesmen and generals of the Revolution. With all the class distinctions, however, it was not unusual in those days, as at present, for an aspiring youth to rise from the lower walks of life and take his place among the leaders of society.

OCCUPATIONS AND CUSTOMS

America in colonial days was a land of farmers. Our forefathers on migrating to America found no great cities with innumerable openings for the industrious and thrifty, no great industries with salaried positions awaiting them. They found only a vast, uncultivated region—the valleys, the plains, the illimitable succession of rolling hills, crowned with primeval forest; and from this they must clear the timbers and delve into the soil for their daily bread. Hence a nation of tillers of the soil. A few ministers and artisans, rulers and merchants, there had to be, but their combined numbers were few compared with the great body of the people,—the farmers.

In New England, however, the soil was not fertile; a farmer could get a living from the soil and perhaps a little more, but he could not thrive and accumulate money, and it was not long before many of the people turned their at-

tention to the sea. They became fishermen and sailors, shipbuilders and merchants. They took cargoes of fish and cattle and the products of the forest and of the soil to the West Indies, to England, and to Spain, and brought in return molasses and the many articles of manufacture that they could not make at home. There were few manufactories, but the people supplied many of their own wants. Nearly every farmer was also a rude mechanic. He and his sons usually made the furniture for the household and many of the implements of the farm as well, while his wife and daughters spun the flax and wove it into a coarse cloth from which the family was clothed.

The New England farmhouse was scantily furnished. It was solidly built of wood, but, as if inspired by their stern Puritan religion, the builders gave all too little attention to comfort, and the average New England farmhouse would have been scarcely endurable in winter but for the great open wood-fire about which the family (usually a large one) gathered in the evening and made brooms, shelled nuts, and told stories. But the "house of the seven gables" was not wanting in New England. Many of the rich in the cities and their suburbs built fine stone, brick, or wooden mansions, and lived on the fat of the land. The furniture in the dwellings of the rich was often imported from England, as was also the tableware—china, wedgwood, cut glass, and silver plate.

Town life in New England was everything, while in the South, as we shall notice later, the county or the plantation was the geographical unit. The Puritans were not great landholders; they were small farmers. Each had his little clearing surrounded by the dark, merciless forest, with its wild beasts and wild men. But he was loath to dwell far

from the town, where he attended church and market, and which became his city of refuge on the approach of hostile Indians. Many farmers lived in the village or very near it. The town was a straggling, rural village with unpaved, shady streets partly covered with stumps of native trees. There were at least three important buildings in the town, always near together—the church, the tavern, and the block-house. The church in early Puritan days was built of logs, provided with benches, and never heated. The congregation was summoned by the sound of a horn or a drum, and the people sat in order of social rank and listened to the long sermons. If a man or a boy fell asleep or misbehaved, he received a rap on the head from the rod of the tithingman; while if a woman fell into a doze, she was awakened by the brushing of her face with a rabbit's foot appended to the rod. In early times, when the red men still lurked in the woods, the men went to church armed, and the minister often preached with a musket by his side.

The tavern or ordinary was not only a lodging place for travelers, but also a drinking house, and a place of general gossip for the village and neighborhood. Here the people would gather on special days to take a social glass, to get the latest news, and to discuss politics and religion. The tavern was considered a public necessity, and a town that did not maintain one was subject to fine by the General Court.¹⁸⁸ The principal drinks were rum, small beer, and cider, and these were used freely by men, women, and children. The tavern keeper was a man of great importance—usually a jolly gentleman whose stock of information on all current topics was inexhaustible. He was often the chief man, next to the town clerk, in the town—schoolmaster,

¹⁸⁸ Field's "Colonial Tavern," p. 13.

leader of the singing in the church, member of the town council, land agent, surveyor, and the like. He was required to be a man of good character, and was not permitted to sell strong drink to drunkards.

The blockhouse was strongly built of logs, the second story extending over the first and being provided with port-holes so that the occupants could fire directly down on a besieging enemy. In case of an Indian attack the whole population would abandon their homes and rush to the blockhouse, and in this way their lives were often saved. The blockhouse in New England ceased to be of great importance after King Philip's War.

Passing westward into New York, we find a soil very different from the barren lands of New England. The great valleys of the Hudson and the Mohawk were exceedingly fertile, and in this colony the majority of the people were tillers of the soil.

But New York was by no means wholly agricultural. The second great industry was that of trade, and this was of two kinds—trade with foreign countries and the other colonies and the Indian fur trade. New York City was the center of all maritime commerce, and was a formidable rival of Boston and Philadelphia. The Indian fur trade was exceedingly lucrative, and hundreds of men were constantly engaged in it.¹⁰⁰ A trader would go into the Indian country laden with rum and trinkets and implements prized by the natives, and for these he would receive furs and peltries, with which he would float down the Hudson and sell them to the foreign traders of Manhattan.

The character of society in New York was unlike that of

¹⁰⁰ But the fur trade was greatly crippled when, in 1732, England forbade the people to export hats.

any other colony, owing to the patroon system, which continued all through colonial days and far into the national period. The patroon had a luxurious, well-built house of brick or stone, a retinue of servants, large barns, orchards and gardens, and broad pasture lands dotted with flocks and herds. His tenants were scattered for miles about him, and among them he lived much like a feudal lord of the Middle Ages.

The majority of the people, especially in the country, were Dutch, and they clung tenaciously to the customs and habits of their nation. They were a plodding, industrious, religious people, who dwelt in small wooden or brick houses with sanded floors, and high, steep roofs, and, in the villages, with the gable ends, "notched like steps," turned toward the street. The window panes were very small; the doors, each with its knocker of brass or iron, were divided into an upper and a lower section. Country houses were placed as near together as the extent of each farm would allow, often forming a little village street.¹⁰⁰ A great fireplace in each house was usually built of tiles brought from Holland, and on these were stamped various Scripture scenes, one of which was Lazarus leaving the tomb and waving the flag of the Netherlands.¹⁰¹ One of the features of the Dutch village and farmhouse was the stoop, on which, in summer evenings, the family would sit and chat for hours with their neighbors, the men smoking long Dutch pipes, the women busy with their knitting or sewing.

The Dutch were more liberal in games and amusements than were the Puritans of New England. No people in America presented a more attractive picture of quiet, pas-

¹⁰⁰ Earle's "Colonial Days in Old New York," p. 116.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

toral contentment, of unruffled satisfaction in life, of thrift and plenty, than the Dutch rural population of New York. Thus these people continued their rustic life, maintaining their customs and language for nearly two centuries; but after the Revolution they were forced to yield to the ever increasing tide of the English race until they gradually lost their identity and their language.

In New Jersey the mode of life was somewhat similar to that of New England, from which many of the people had emigrated. This was especially true of East Jersey, while in West Jersey, where the Quakers predominated, the mode of life resembled that of Pennsylvania. The soil, with the exception of the sand regions in some portions of the colony, was fertile, and farming was practically the sole industry. There were few large estates, the great majority of the settlers being small farmers, each with his clearing in the forest; and this, with the fact that there were few slaves or indentured servants, brought about a social equality unknown in most of the colonies. There was little culture or education except in the villages that dotted the great highway between New York and Philadelphia. The people were thrifty and honest; houses were left unlocked, and there was little crime. The laws and punishments were modeled after those of New England.

The moment we cross the Delaware into Pennsylvania we find a notable change in colonial society. It is true there were many English Quakers, as in West Jersey, but they were outnumbered by others. There were Germans, Irish, Scotch-Irish, Welsh, and Swedes. The tolerant spirit of the Quaker government had attracted men of every nationality and every creed. First in numbers came the Lutherans and Presbyterians, and after these the Dunkards, Mora-

vians, Baptists, Anabaptists, Pietists, and Mennonites, with a sprinkling of Methodists, Episcopalians, and Roman Catholics. Yet with all the mixture of sect and nationality there was no colony in America more peaceful, contented, and democratic than Pennsylvania. It is true that the Germans and the Scotch-Irish could not get along well together, and they kept apart by settling in separate communities or in parallel bands across the colony, while the English predominated in Philadelphia and vicinity. There was also frequent political strife between the Scotch-Irish and the Quakers, and the latter often combined with the Germans to retain their prestige in the legislature. The chief industry was farming; the soil was rich and productive, and the river valleys were laden with waving fields of grain every year, while the broad meadows and mountain slopes were dotted with grazing herds. But there were other occupations in Pennsylvania. Many were engaged in the fur trade and still more in foreign commerce, while the iron industry had its beginning early in the eighteenth century.

Philadelphia was a fine, well-built city with straight streets crossing at right angles—and its plan, originating with Penn, became the model for nearly all the cities of the United States. This city passed New York in population but few years after its founding; about the middle of the eighteenth century it left Boston behind, and so it continued the largest city in America until after the Revolution.

Crossing into Maryland and Virginia, we again find a great change in the social atmosphere. Here there was little or no town life; villages were few and insignificant. The planter or great landlord stood at the head of society; the plantation was the center of social and industrial activity, and the sole important product of the plantation was to-

bacco. The great estates were situated along the river valleys. In the center stood the well-built and well-furnished mansion of the landlord, and around it were clustered the offices, tobacco houses, barns, stables, and negro huts, the whole presenting the appearance of a small village. The planter enjoyed every luxury of the age. He had blooded horses, carriages, and body servants in abundance, and his dress was fashioned after that of the upper classes in England. His monotonous life in the forest led him to long for company of his own class, and gave rise to the hospitality for which the Southerner became famous. He treated strangers with great cordiality, and often sent to the nearest tavern requesting that any chance traveler might be sent to spend the night at his home.

As we move farther to the southward we find another marked change. Here, especially in South Carolina, the great staple was rice. The rice planters were men of education and culture, and they comprised the ruling class. Most of them lived in Charleston and spent but a few months of the year in the malarial regions in which the rice was produced.

The old colonial aristocracy of the South was not without its shortcomings, but on the whole it was chivalric and picturesque; and it is a remarkable fact that it was this old aristocracy of a single southern colony that furnished the newborn Republic with its greatest soldier, half of its first cabinet, and four of its first five presidents.

The small farmers of the South were also a respectable class, and of course more numerous than the great planters. They were slave owners on a small scale, and many of them rose by dint of genius, by thrift and industry, to the upper

class,¹⁸² while, as stated before, there was an almost impassable barrier between them and the lower classes, composed of servants and slaves.

RELIGION ; EDUCATION ; MEDICINE

In tracing the growth of the several colonies we have had frequent occasion to notice the religious life of the people, but a few additional words are necessary here. In the Carolinas, Virginia, and Maryland the Church of England was recognized by law as the State Church; and in Maryland, which had passed through Catholic and Puritan hands, this church was supported by general taxation.¹⁸³ Many of the clergy were men of doubtful morals, men who were foremost at the horse races, and who were seldom outdone in drinking, betting, and gambling. The Established Church had little footing in the North, outside of New York, where it was rapidly gaining. In Pennsylvania and Rhode Island alone were all religions free.

In New England, except Rhode Island, the Puritan or Congregational Church was practically the State Church. In no other part of America had religion taken such a powerful hold on the people as here. The minister was held in the highest esteem and reverence by the people, who considered it a privilege to sit on the hard seats and listen to his three-hour sermon as he dilated on the special providences of God, on some metaphysical abstraction, or on the tortures of the lost soul. The New England ministers were men of profound learning. Many of them could read the Old Testament in the original Hebrew, the New in the original Greek, and expound them in classic Latin. We

¹⁸² Patrick Henry and John Marshall were striking examples of this.

¹⁸³ This had been done at times in Virginia and the Carolinas.

may grow weary of the pedantry, the metaphysics, and the narrowness of the Puritan ministers, but it cannot be denied that they were sincere, honest men. The greatest of the New England ministers was Jônathan Edwards, whose work on the "Freedom of the Will" is one of the very few colonial productions that still live in American literature.

Next to religion the Puritans valued education, and they had scarcely become established in their new home when they turned their attention to the education of their children. In 1636 it was voted to found a college at Newtown, now Cambridge, three miles west of Boston. Two years later, John Harvard, a young clergyman, gave the institution a portion of his estate, amounting to about \$4,000,—a large sum in those days,—and it was called after his name. In 1647 the General Court of Massachusetts ordered that a common school be established in every township of fifty families, and a grammar school in each of the larger towns. From this crude beginning has developed the public school systems of the United States. The school term in New England was seldom more than four months in the year; the teacher was often a youthful divinity student, and sometimes the minister of the parish, or even the innkeeper. The pupils pondered for long, weary hours over the "New England Primer," the catechism, and various cumbrous textbooks of the time.

In New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania commendable effort was made to educate the young, but the schools fell below those of New England, and seldom at this period was a school to be found outside the towns and villages. In the South the education of the masses was almost wholly neglected, except for some feeble efforts in Maryland and Virginia. The rich employed private tutors, the minister,

or sometimes an indented servant, while a few of the most opulent sent their sons to England or the North to be educated. There was no public school system in Virginia before the Revolution,¹⁸⁴ yet this colony could boast the second college in America in point of the time of its founding. The efforts to educate the young in many of the colonies were most praiseworthy, but outside of New England and New York there was no public school system till after the Revolution, all efforts to educate the young in other colonies being private.

The practice of medicine in the colonies was in a cruder state even than were the educational facilities. The village doctor was indeed an important personage, quite equal to the schoolmaster or the innkeeper, and not much inferior to the minister. He was at home in every family, and was highly respected by all classes. He was present at every birth and every funeral; he sat with the minister at the bed of death, and put his name with that of the lawyer to every will.¹⁸⁵ His medical education was usually meager, and often consisted only of a short apprenticeship with some noted physician. No medical college existed in the colonies before the Revolution. The practice of bloodletting for almost any disease was universal; and if the physician was not at hand, this was done by the barber, the clergyman, or any medical amateur.¹⁸⁶ The drugs used were few, and their rightful use was little known. St. John's-wort was taken as a cure for many ills, for madness, and to drive away

¹⁸⁴ The seven colleges founded before the Revolution were: Harvard, 1636; William and Mary, 1693; Yale, 1701; Princeton, 1746; University of Pennsylvania, 1749; King's (Columbia), 1754; and Brown University, 1764.

¹⁸⁵ McMaster, Vol. I, p. 29.

¹⁸⁶ Eggleston's "Transit of Civilization," p. 53.

devils. A popular medicine was composed of toads burned to a crisp and powdered, then taken in small doses for diseases of the blood.¹⁹⁷ There was a great deal of mystery in connection with the practice of medicine. In addition to the regular physicians there were many quacks who hawked their Indian medicines and special cures about the country; but these were not peculiar to colonial times—we have them still.

MEANS OF TRAVEL; MAILS; NEWSPAPERS

In nothing has there been a greater change in the last hundred years than in the means of travel. For two thousand years, as Henry Adams says, to the opening of the nineteenth century, the world had made no improvement in the methods of traveling. That century brought the river steamer, the ocean greyhound, the lightning express train, the bicycle, the electric car, and the automobile. In colonial times travel by land was in the old-fashioned stagecoach, on horseback, or afoot. The roads were usually execrable. Many of the towns were wholly without roads, being connected with their neighbors by Indian trails. The best roads to be found were in Pennsylvania, all centering into Philadelphia, and on these at all seasons the great Conestoga wagons lumbered into the busy city, laden with grain and produce from the river valleys and the mountain slopes. Long journeys were often made on foot by all classes. A governor of Massachusetts relates that he made extensive journeys afoot, and speaks of being borne across the swamps on the back of an Indian guide. A favorite mode of travel was on horseback. A farmer went to church astride a horse, with his wife sitting behind him on a cushion called a pil-

¹⁹⁷ Eggleston's "Transit of Civilization," p. 58.

lion; while the young people walked, stopping to change their shoes before reaching the meetinghouse. Great quantities of grain and other farm products were brought from the remote settlements on pack horses, winding their weary way through the lonely forest by the Indian trails. Coaches and chaises were few until late in the seventeenth century. Not until 1766 was there a regular line of stagecoaches between New York and Philadelphia. The journey was then made in three days; but ten years later a new stage, called the "flying machine," was started, and it made the trip in two days. A stage journey from one part of the country to another was as comfortless as could well be imagined. The coach was without springs, and the seats were hard and often backless. The horses were jaded and worn, and the roads were rough with boulders and stumps of trees, or furrowed with ruts and quagmires. The journey was usually begun at three o'clock in the morning, and after eighteen hours of jogging over the rough roads the weary traveler was put down at a country inn whose bed and board were such as few horny-handed laborers of to-day would endure. Long before daybreak the next morning a blast from the driver's horn summoned him to the renewal of his journey. If the coach stuck fast in a mire, as it often did, the passengers must alight and help lift it out. When they came to a river, they found no bridge. The crossing was made, at the peril of all, on a rude raft of timbers, or a number of canoes lashed together. After five or six days of such torture the traveler from Boston found himself in the city of New York. The great highways of those early days were those that nature had furnished—the rivers and bays. Without these the people of the different colonies would have been isolated indeed, and would scarcely have known of the

existence of one another. Even as it was, only the few ever traveled far from home; the majority of the native common people lived and died in the neighborhood in which they were born.

The mail was carried by postriders, who followed the main roads as far as there were any; on reaching the roadless settlements they found their way through the forest as best they could by the trails and bridle paths. The postman left a city, not at regular intervals, but only when he received enough mail to pay the expenses of the trip. The remote settlements were fortunate if they received mail once a month. Benjamin Franklin was appointed post-master general in 1753, and he served about twenty years.¹⁹⁸ He soon made the service a paying one to the Crown. Yet even then the amount of mail delivered in the whole country in a year was less than that now delivered in the city of New York in one day.¹⁹⁹

Newspapers were not carried in the mails, but by private arrangement. The newspapers were small and ill-printed, and contained little that we would call news. The chief contents were bits of poetry, advertisements for runaway slaves and indented servants, arrivals of cargoes, bits of European news, and essays on politics, morals, and religion. The *Boston News Letter*, established in 1704, was the first permanent newspaper in America. At the opening of the Revolution there were thirty-seven newspapers printed in the colonies, with a combined weekly circulation of about five thousand copies. The first daily was not printed until 1784.

¹⁹⁸ As early as 1710 Parliament passed the first colonial post-office act.

¹⁹⁹ McMaster, Vol. I, p. 41.

COLONIAL GOVERNMENT

In addition to the brief account of the government of each colony in our narrative of the settlements, an account must here be given of colonial government as a whole.

The thirteen colonies are usually grouped, according to the form of government, into three classes—the Charter, the Royal, and the Proprietary; but recent historical criticism has reduced these three forms to two, the Corporation and the Provincial.²⁰⁰ The corporation was identical with the charter form, and at the opening of the Revolution there were but three, including Massachusetts,²⁰¹ the other two being Rhode Island and Connecticut. The provincial forms included the proprietary colonies, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, and the royal colonies, Virginia, the Carolinas, New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, and Georgia.

So variable were the forms of colonial government that but two colonies remained under the same form from the time of their founding to the Revolutionary War. These two were the chartered colonies of Rhode Island and Connecticut. It will be noticed that at the close of the colonial period the royal form of government predominated, seven of the thirteen being of this class. The movement against

²⁰⁰ In a series of able articles in the *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. II, H. L. Osgood shows that the "charter" does not indicate a form of government; it is simply a grant of power of certain rights which may or may not pertain to colony planting. In granting a colonial charter the king created a corporation and gave it the power to found and govern a colony. The government was therefore a government by the corporation in accordance with certain directions given in the charter.

²⁰¹ More strictly, Massachusetts was a corporation only before 1684; after 1691 it was a royal colony with a charter.

the chartered and proprietary colonies that brought about this condition was begun late in the reign of Charles II, was kept up for half a century, and ended in 1729 when the Carolinas became royal provinces. One colony, Georgia, was founded after this time, and, after flourishing for nineteen years as a proprietary colony, was passed over to the Crown (1752) according to the terms of its charter. Massachusetts was the first to fall a victim to this new policy, losing its charter in 1684. On receiving its new charter, in 1691, Massachusetts became a semi-royal province, and is by some writers placed in a class by itself. New York, New Jersey, and the Carolinas passed into royal hands during this crusade, and even the governments of Pennsylvania and Maryland were each for a short time taken from their respective proprietors.

By leaving out of consideration the two self-governing colonies, Rhode Island and Connecticut,²⁰² we find the colonial governments strikingly uniform. Each consisted of three organs,²⁰³ (1) the governor, appointed by the Crown or by the proprietor, or proprietors, (2) the council, also appointed by the Crown, and (3) the assembly or house of representatives elected by the people. These three, corresponding to the king and the two houses of Parliament, resembled the British government.

The governor directly represented the Crown or the proprietor. His position was a most difficult one to fill. Representing a higher power, by which he was appointed and from which he had explicit instructions, he nevertheless owed a duty to the people over whom he was placed, and

²⁰² For the government of these, see *supra*, pp. 157, 161.

²⁰³ Except Pennsylvania and Georgia, to be noticed later. See Morey, in *Annals of the American Academy*, Vol. IV, p. 215.

the interests of the two were so conflicting as to keep the governor in a constant turmoil. The powers of the governor were extensive. He could convene, prorogue, or dissolve the legislature, or veto any of its laws. He had command of the militia, and he appointed many officials, such as judges, justices of the peace, sheriffs, and the like, and, especially in the early period, he had industrial, commercial, and ecclesiastical as well as political duties; but in one respect he was ever held in check—he had no power over the public purse. Many of the governors were honest men and faithful to their duties; but others, and perhaps the majority, were profligate men, the fruits of the spoils system of that day, who sold the offices at their disposal, and who cared little for the welfare of the colonists.

The council consisted usually of twelve men, though in Massachusetts there were twenty-eight, and in early Maryland but three. They had to be residents of the colony in which they served, and they were usually men of station and wealth. Appointed by the same power that appointed the governor, they usually sided with him in his conflicts with the assembly. The functions of the council were threefold,—it was a board of advisers to the governor, it constituted the upper house of the legislature, and it frequently formed the highest court of the colony. In Massachusetts, after 1691, the council was elected by a joint ballot of the legislature, called the General Court. In the other provincial colonies it was appointed by the Crown or the proprietors.

The assembly, or lower house of the legislature, represented the people and was elected by them. It had the chief legislative power; but its acts could be vetoed by the governor, or be set aside by the Crown within a certain time

after their passage. But the assembly held the key to the situation by its sole power of taxation. To this right the assembly of every colony clung with jealous tenacity. Through the exercise of this right the colonies may be said to have been self-governing, and their liberties were secure so long as they could retain this sole right of taxing themselves. For many years the British government wrestled in vain with the problem of how to get an American revenue at the disposal of the Crown. The governor, representing the Crown, and the assembly, representing the people, were in frequent conflict during the whole colonial period; and the assembly usually won through its one all-powerful weapon—a withholding of supplies. On many occasions the assembly would refuse to grant the governor his salary until he had approved certain laws it had passed, though often his act was in direct violation of his instructions. Nor was it infrequent that the assembly grew arrogant and meddled in purely executive affairs, such as military matters, the appointment of officials, and the like, all through its power over the purse.

The legislature in every colony was bicameral, except in Pennsylvania and Georgia, in each of which it consisted of a single house. This bicameral system had its model in Parliament, but it seemed to spring up spontaneously in America. It began in Massachusetts in 1644, when the assembly or deputies first sat apart from the council or magistrates, and the two bodies henceforth remained separate. Other colonies soon followed the example, until all the legislatures came to be divided, except in Pennsylvania, where the governor's council had no legislative functions after 1701, and in Georgia. In Connecticut and Rhode Island, and in Massachusetts before 1684, the people elected

the governor, and, aside from the Navigation and a few other restrictive laws, were practically independent of the Crown.

The representative system of government, as we have assumed all along in our narrative, was common to all the colonies, though it was not introduced in Georgia before 1752. It began in Virginia with the first meeting of the burgesses in 1619; it was introduced in Massachusetts in 1634, in Plymouth and Maryland in 1639. The system of representative government was allowed, but not required, by the early charters. But after it had sprung up spontaneously in various colonies, it was recognized and ratified by the later charters, as in those of Connecticut and Rhode Island, and the second charter of Massachusetts, though it was not mentioned in the New York grant. The franchise came to be restricted by some property qualifications in all the colonies, in most by their own act, as by Virginia in 1670, or by charter, as in Massachusetts, 1691.²⁰⁴ In no colony was universal suffrage to be found.

In the judicial system the justice of the peace stood at the bottom. In most cases he was appointed by the governor, and he tried petty civil cases only. Next came the county courts, before which were tried civil cases involving sums to a certain amount and criminal cases not involving capital punishment. The highest colonial court was usually composed of the governor and the council. But in some colonies the governor appointed a body of judges for this function, while he and the council acted as a court of ap-

²⁰⁴ "Property, not men, voted," says Thorpe, "Constitutional History," Vol. I, p. 192. The religious test was also applied in some form in every colony.

peals. In certain cases, also, a further appeal could be made to the Privy Council in England.

A practice of the colonies was to keep an agent in England to look after their interests. This practice originated in Virginia about 1670, and was soon followed by other colonies. Sometimes the same agent represented two or more colonies, as in the case of Franklin. The duties of these men were similar to those of modern diplomatic representatives. To the English Board of Trade, which became a permanent institution after 1696, nearly all colonial questions were referred, and the board reported them to the king, or to a committee of the Privy Council. It was to this board that the colonial agents presented the interests of their respective colonies, and their efforts did much toward bringing about a closer fellowship between the mother country and the colonies. This good feeling between them was at its best about the year 1750.

In methods of local government the colonies were less uniform than in the general government. As stated in our account of Massachusetts, the old parish of England became the town in New England. The people, owing to the necessity of guarding against the Indians and wild animals, and to their desire to attend the same church, settled in small compact communities, or townships, which they called towns. The town was a legal corporation, was the political unit, and was represented in the General Court. It was a democracy of the purest type.²⁰⁸ Several times a year the adult males met in town meetings to discuss public questions, to lay taxes, to make local laws, and to elect officers. The chief officers were the "selectmen," from three to nine in number, who should have the general management of the public business;

²⁰⁸ See Shaler's "United States," Vol. II, p. 475.

the town clerk, treasurer, constables, assessors, and overseers of the poor. To this day the town government continues in a large measure in some parts of New England. The county in New England was of much less importance than the town. Its business was chiefly the holding of courts of law, the keeping of court records, and the care of prisoners.

In Virginia, which may be taken as the type of southern local government, the county, first called the shire, was the unit of representation. The large plantations rendered the compact settlement impossible. At first the parish was the local unit, but it soon gave way to the county. The chief county officer was the sheriff, appointed by the governor. Next to the sheriff stood the "colonel," whose duties were largely military. The counties were divided into parishes which were governed by vestries, whose duties were largely ecclesiastical. Local government, judicial and administrative, was chiefly in the hands of a county court, whose members, usually prominent planters unlearned in the law, were appointed by the governor. This court gradually came to do the business formerly done by the parish. Instead of the town meeting, as in New England, the Virginians had their "court days," on which the people of every rank would gather on the green about the courthouse to transact private business, to engage in sports, and to listen to stump speeches.

In South Carolina there were parishes, but neither counties nor townships. In the Carolinas the governor and legislature found it almost impossible to govern the mountainous districts, and they were aided by bands of "regulators" organized for the purpose.

In Maryland the "hundred" was the unit of representa-

tion till 1654, when it gave way to the county. The officers of the hundred, except the assessor, were appointed by the governor. Maryland discarded the term "hundred" in 1824, but Delaware, having adopted it, retains it to this day. In Delaware the "levy court," composed of the assessors, justices, and grand jurors, met once a year to fix tax rates.

The middle colonies borrowed from both New England and the South; they adopted a mixed system of county and township government. In New York the township was the local unit, and not till after the English conquest was the county organized. Under English rule the town meeting was instituted, but with less power than in New England. They chose "overseers," instead of "selectmen," and other officers. After 1703 they chose a "supervisor" to manage the affairs of the township; and he was also a county officer as a member of the county board of supervisors, which met once a year.

In Pennsylvania the county was at first the only organization for local government.²⁰⁰ It had charge of the non-judicial, as well as the judicial, business. This was at first among the duties of the court, but at length it was placed in the hands of commissioners elected by the people. As the population increased the township was organized to aid the county in local matters, such as the care of highways, the assessing of property, and the like; but the county remained the administrative district and the unit of representation. Nearly all the states organized since the Revolution have adopted the mixed system of New York and Pennsylvania.

²⁰⁰ Except in Philadelphia. All the county officers were elective in Pennsylvania.

THE NAVIGATION ACTS

Throughout the colonial period, after the middle of the seventeenth century, the one great source of irritation between the mother country and her colonies was found in the Navigation Acts. The twofold object of these acts was to protect English shipping, and to secure a profit to the home country from the colonies. As early as the reign of Richard II steps had been taken for the protection of shipping, but not before 1651 were there any British statutes that seriously hampered colonial trade. The Long Parliament, in 1642, exempted New England exports and imports from all duties, and a few years later all goods carried to the southern colonies in English vessels were put on the free list.

In 1651, however, while Cromwell was master of England, the first of the famous Navigation Acts was passed. The chief provisions were, that no goods grown or manufactured in Asia, Africa, or America should be transported to England except in English vessels, and that the goods of any European country imported into England must be brought in British vessels, or in vessels of the country producing them. The law was directed against the Dutch maritime trade, which was very great at that time. But it was nowhere strictly enforced, and in New England scarcely at all.²⁰⁷

In 1660 the second of these memorable acts was passed, largely embodying the first and adding much to it. This act forbade the importing into or the exporting from the British colonies of any goods except in English or colonial ships;²⁰⁸ and it forbade certain enumerated articles—to-

²⁰⁷ Palfrey, Vol. II, p. 393.

²⁰⁸ Three years later all ships were pronounced foreign except those built in England or the colonies.

bacco, sugar, cotton, wool, dyeing woods, etc.—to be shipped to any country, except to England or some English plantation. Other goods were added at a later date. Such goods were to pay heavy duties when shipped to England, and in 1672, the same duties were imposed on goods sold from one colony to another. Had these laws been strictly enforced, the effect on the colonies that produced the “enumerated” articles would have been disastrous, for they enjoyed a flourishing trade in these goods with other countries. Other articles, such as grain, salt provisions, and fish, were not put on the list, because these were produced in England, and, had the entire colonial production been sent to that country, the English producer would have been ruined.²⁰⁰ Rice was also allowed to be shipped to all ports south of Cape Finisterre. Some things, however, the Parliament did purely to favor the colonies,—it prohibited the raising of tobacco in England and kept Spanish tobacco out by high duties, it kept out Swedish iron by high tariff, to the advantage of the colonies, and it paid a bounty on various colonial products.

In addition to these there were two other classes of laws, all, however, belonging to the same system, which tended to impede the development of the colonies,—the corn laws and the laws against manufacturing. The corn laws in the interest of the British farmer, beginning about 1666, practically shut out from England grain raised in the colonies. This drove New England and New York to manufacturing, and this again led England to forbid manufacturing in the colonies. These laws were far more effective than the Navi-

²⁰⁰ Egerton's "British Colonial Policy," p. 72; N. Y. Col. Doc., Vol. V, p. 63; Beer's "Commercial Policy of England," p. 82.

gation Acts. It is stated that in 1708 New York manufactured three fourths of the woolen and linen goods used in the colony, and also fur hats in great numbers, many of which were shipped to Europe and the West Indies. This trade was largely suppressed by English laws passed at various times. In 1732 an act forbade the exporting of hats to England, to foreign countries, or from one colony to another. It also limited the number of persons a maker of hats might employ. Iron was found in all the colonies, and forges and furnaces were established in many places. But in 1750 Parliament enacted a law declaring that "no mill or other engine for rolling or slitting iron," "nor any furnace for making steel shall be erected in the colonies"! After this only pig and bar iron could be made. Parliament also enacted laws at various times restricting the manufacture of woolen goods. These laws bore heavily on the northern colonies, but were little felt in the South, where manufactories were rare.

Probably the harshest of England's laws in the suppression of colonial trade was the Molasses Act of 1733. By this act prohibitive duties were placed on molasses and sugar, from the French West Indies to the colonies.²¹⁰ New England enjoyed a great trade with the islands, receiving molasses and sugar for flour, stock, lumber, and fish, part of which could not be sold to England owing to the corn laws. Had the Molasses Act been enforced, the prosperity of New England would have been at an end.

The northern colonies, which produced the same kinds of

²¹⁰ The object of the act was to aid the English sugar islands. France had adopted a liberal policy with regard to the trade of her West India Islands, and this had crippled the trade of the British West Indies. See MacDonald, p. 248.

goods as England produced, and consequently were barred from the English trade, suffered deeply by the trade laws, while the southern colonies, which raised commodities, such as tobacco and rice, which could not be duplicated in England, suffered far less. ↪

The Board of Trade and Plantations, established as a permanent body in 1696,²¹¹ kept account of the acts of colonial legislatures, corresponded with governors, and informed itself thoroughly concerning all matters of colonial trade. But in spite of all efforts the Navigation Acts could scarcely be enforced at all. It may be said that the whole people became lawbreakers, and often the customs officials and even the governors connived at their practice. Smuggling was universal. It went on regardless of the admiralty courts established in most of the colonies. "Juries found their verdicts against the most undoubted facts."²¹² The Molasses Act was certainly an economic and a political blunder; it not only made the people lawbreakers, it led them to hold Parliament in contempt, as not able to enforce its own laws.

But the colonists were not without examples in smuggling. It was estimated that forty thousand people in Great Britain were engaged in smuggling. The illegal imports of French silks, of India tea, and the like exceeded the legal imports.²¹³ On moral grounds, therefore, England could not reproach America.

In fairness to England it must be said that not all her colonial trade laws were unfavorable to the colonies. As we have noticed, the raising of tobacco in England was for-

²¹¹ Before this date the work was done by a committee of the Privy Council.

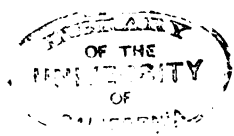
²¹² Chalmers's "Introduction," Vol. I, p. 183.

²¹³ Stanhope's "Pitt," p. 215.



1676 — ALEXANDER SPOTSWOOD — 1740.

From the original portrait in possession of Mrs. J. N. Jones, Richmond, Va.



bidden—at first under James I, because the weed was offensive to that monarch, but later for the protection of the colonies. But further, at the beginning of the eighteenth century there was a heavy balance of trade against England with Norway, Sweden, and Russia, from which she purchased large naval stores. To correct this and to discourage manufacturing in the colonies, Parliament offered bounties on American hemp, lumber, tar, turpentine, etc. So effective was this law, passed in Anne's reign, that England was soon exporting a surplus of these articles received from her colonies.²¹⁴

In viewing the subject of England's colonial policy during this period, two things should be borne in mind; namely, that the subject has usually been treated, on this side of the Atlantic, from a purely American point of view, and that England was no more severe in the treatment of colonial trade than were other countries having colonial possessions. The British government acted throughout on the ground, taken by all European countries at the time, that the existence of colonial possessions was for the purpose of benefiting the mother country. The system involved the subordination of the interests of the colonies to those of the mother country.²¹⁵ •

The aim of Great Britain was to export manufactured goods to America, and to import raw materials, and at the same time to retain the balance of trade in her own favor. This she usually succeeded in doing. In 1759 New England sent to England goods to the value of £38,000 and purchased goods to the amount of £600,000²¹⁶—chiefly with money

²¹⁴ Beer, p. 102.

²¹⁵ Egerton, p. 69.

²¹⁶ Beer, p. 154.

made by smuggling. But in one respect the British policy greatly stimulated American industry. It made New England a shipbuilding community. This was brought about by the fact that the Navigation Laws placed the colonial-built ship on the same footing with the English-built ship.

On the whole, the British policy was unfortunate for British interests; it served to alienate the colonists, little by little, and prepared them for the final break with the mother land. Lecky, one of the ablest of the British historians, says:²¹⁷ "The deliberate selfishness of the English commercial legislation was digging a chasm between the mother country and the colonists."

²¹⁷ "History of England," Vol. II, p. 241.

CHAPTER XI

COLONIAL LITERATURE

LITERATURE, in the true and narrow sense of the word, is an expression of the beautiful and the true in such form of language as to awaken the emotions of the soul, to stir the imagination, and to leave a lasting impression; or, more tersely, "literature is a criticism of life." In a broader sense the word literature is often used to designate the entire current output of reading matter. Of this class of literature our colonial era produced much; it produced almost none of the first class.

The causes of this dearth of true literature in those early days are not far to seek. The fact that the colonists were of various nationalities was not conducive to the production of literature. Though the English predominated from the first, the large admixture of Dutch, Germans, Swedes and French had much to do with preventing the growth of a consciousness of common interests and a desire to produce a national literature. Furthermore, a leisured class is almost essential to the production of literature, and no such class existed in the colonies. The great forests had to be cleared away, cities were to be built, and commercial relations must be established with the world. These and other problems of practical life absorbed the attention of nearly every man. In addition to these facts, intellectual progress in the South was stifled by the system of slavery; the Middle Colonies, with their extremely polyglot speech, were

especially devoted to agriculture and commerce, while in New England the consciences of the people were so pinched down with religious narrowness as to leave no room for the play of the imagination.

EARLY PROSE PRODUCTIONS

Many years passed after the founding of the first colonies before there was an American-born population, except the Indians. The first American books were written by men who had been born in other lands, and the first of these foreign-born authors was the Virginia adventurer, John Smith. Though a man of action, Smith, like Julius Cæsar, found time to write; but, unlike Cæsar, his writings have not taken a permanent place in the world's literature. Smith's first book, *A True Relation of Virginia*, printed in London in 1608, gives a fragmentary account of the first year of the colony. He wrote several other volumes dealing with his adventures, chiefly in America. They all display the fearless, restless energy of the writer; but they have long ceased to be read, except by the student of curiosities.

Of far greater literary merit than Smith's writings is the description of a storm at sea by William Strachey, who was for three years secretary of the colony of Virginia. This description was printed a short time before Shakespeare wrote *The Tempest*, and it is believed that the great English bard received much of the inspiration for *The Tempest* from the work of Strachey.²¹⁸

Turning to New England, we find that the earliest writers were the governors of the colonies and their writings were

²¹⁸ Stachey wrote also a *History of Travel into Virginia*, a description of the colony as it was in 1610, the year of his arrival. Other early southern writers were Alexander Whitaker and John Hammond of Virginia and George Alsop of Maryland.

chronicles of the events of the first years of colonial life. William Bradford who came in the Mayflower, and who served many years as governor of Plymouth, was the historian of that colony. His *History of Plymouth Plantation*, covering fifteen years (1631-46) is now one of the precious documents of that period. The Bradford manuscript was for many years kept in Old South Church, Boston, but it disappeared in 1776. After more than three quarters of a century it was discovered in a library in London, and, for the first time, was printed in full. Through English courtesy the precious document itself was restored to Boston in 1897.

Edward Winslow, another of the Mayflower Pilgrims, and third governor of Plymouth, wrote *Good News from New England*, which, next to Bradford's history, is the most important emanation from the first generation of the Plymouth settlers. Winslow wrote also several documents of a semi-religious character. More important than the work of Bradford or of Winslow is the *History of New England* from 1630 to 1649, by John Winthrop, the first governor of Massachusetts Bay. This work is more scholarly, but has less literary merit than the history written by Governor Bradford. Winthrop's history strongly reflects the stern Puritan religion, and is not free from superstition and other defects; but on the whole it is of great historic value.

Judge Samuel Sewall also contributed much toward the early history of New England. He lived at a later period, dying in 1730. His history is simply a diary which he faithfully kept for more than fifty years, and which gives much information concerning the social and political condition of the times.

EARLIEST AMERICAN POETRY

With most races the dawn of civilization is preceded by long twilight, and such a period is fraught with poetic legends, with tradition and romance, which often become embodied in the form of verse. There was no such period in early America. Troubadours Trouveres were wanting. The American pioneers found themselves battling with the forests and the soil, as a shipwrecked mariner battles with the waves. Life with them was ceaseless toil, highly romantic in perspective, it is true, but sternly real to the actors of the time. We could not therefore expect to find that age an age of poetry, and it is a fact that in two hundred years there was not a poem produced in America that will live.

The first poetic work written in America was a translation of *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, by George Sandys, who came to Virginia in 1621. This is a work of real merit, but as it was partially written in England and published there, it can scarcely be classed with American literature. From the Virginia forest also emanated an eulogy of the apostle of liberty, Nathaniel Bacon, written soon after Bacon's death. After this for many years the southern muse was silent save for an occasional effusion of doggerel unworthy of notice. New England also presents a lamentable dearth of true poetry. In 1624 William Morrell wrote *Nova Anglia*, and in 1634 William Wood wrote *New England's Prospects*, both metrical effusions and both worthless.

The first book of importance printed in America was the *Bay Psalm Book*. This book with slight changes remained the chief devotional book of the Puritans for more than a hundred years. It was prepared by three leading Puritan divines, Richard Mather, Thomas Welde and John Eliot, and was first published in 1640. Mather declares in the

M A M U S S E
WUNNEETUPANATAMWE
UP-BIBLUM GOD
NANESWE
NUKKONE TESTAMENT
KAH WONK
WUSKU TESTAMENT.

Ne quoshkinnumuk nashpe Wurtinneumoh *CHRIST*
loh asoowelit

JOHN ELIOT.

C A M B R I D G E :

Printeucoop nashpe *Samuel Green* kah *Marmaduke Johnson*.

x 6 6 3.

TITLE-PAGE OF ELIOT'S INDIAN BIBLE.

From the copy in the Lenox Library, New York.



preface that "God's altar needs not our polishings," and it is evident that the art of polishing was not among the gifts of the authors. The exquisite poetic beauty of the Hebrew Psalms is almost wholly lost in the Puritan rendition. An example, probably one of the worst that could be cited, is the following, from the Sixty-ninth Psalm:

"I am in muddy deep sunk downe
where I no standing have:
into deep waters I am come,
where floods me overflow.
I of my crying weary am,
my throat is dried soe."

The Puritan clergymen were prolific in prose writings, as we shall notice, and a few of them attempted to produce verse. The death in 1647 of Thomas Hooker, the founder of Connecticut, called forth numerous metrical eulogies, the most important of which was written by Peter Bulkeley, the founder of Concord, which was to become a noted literary center in a later age.

The first book of original poems composed in New England was written by Anne Bradstreet, the wife of one of Massachusetts' governors. She was a woman of culture and wide reading, and her book won her the title of *The Tenth Muse*. It was published in London in 1650, with a pedantic title page and its author was hailed as a great genius. How this could be, in the age of Milton, is difficult to explain. The poems are stiff and dull, without local coloring or original conception.²¹⁹

The most typical of the Puritan poets was Michael Wig-

²¹⁹ Many New England celebrities, notably Dr. O. W. Holmes, the Danas, the Channings, and Wendell Phillips, are descendants of Anne Bradstreet.

glesworth, who was pastor of a church at Walden, Massachusetts, for nearly fifty years. His most pretentious poem was *The Day of Doom*, a metrical description of the last judgment, first published in 1662. The poem pictures in realistic baldness the horrors of God's wrath poured upon his creatures. It gloats over the torments of the damned. It consigns all the heathen and reprobate infants to eternal woe, and even represents fathers and mothers viewing with satisfaction the consigning of their own offspring to everlasting punishment.

"The tender mother will own no other
Of all her numerous brood,
But such as stand at Christ's right hand
Acquitted through His blood.
The pious father had now much rather
His graceless son should ly
In hell with devils, for all his evils
Burning eternally." ²²⁰

Wigglesworth's *Day of Doom* was wholly wanting in grace of style and inventive power, but the fact that its gloomy pages, dealing with death and the grave, with divine wrath and perdition, with stern justice untempered by mercy, represented the merciless bigotry of Puritanism at its height—this fact explains why the book was sold and circulated more widely than any other American production of the century, and why it held sway over the Puritan mind almost to the coming of the Revolution.

Many other New England people of the time set their hands to poetry on occasion, but only a few of them are

²²⁰ Michael Wigglesworth, 1631-1705, physician and clergyman, was a man of extraordinary purity of life, even among the strictest of the Puritans.

worthy of even passing notice. Urian Oakes, president of Harvard, wrote an ode on the death of his friend, Thomas Shephard, which rises far above most of the insipid verse of the time.

All the writers hitherto mentioned were born abroad. The first native-born American poet was Benjamin Thompson, who was born in Massachusetts in 1642. His chief poem, *New England's Crisis*, breathes the same doleful, graveyard spirit that characterized his age. Other poets of some note in their day and generation were: Roger Wolcott of Connecticut; Jane Turell, who, at the age of eleven years, wrote a hymn superior to anything in the *Bay Psalm Book*; John Seccomb, who wrote *Father Abbey's Will*, a humorous poem of considerable merit; Mather Byles and Joseph Green, both born in Boston in 1708, companions in literature, who wrote poems grave and gay. Nathaniel Ames of Dedham, Massachusetts also wrote poetry, but is remembered by his almanac in which are found bits of prose and verse that indicate a superior mind. His almanac for 1758 contains a prophecy concerning the future of America, concluding as follows:

"O! ye unborn inhabitants of America, should this page escape its destined conflagration at the year's end, and these alphabetical letters remain legible—when your eyes behold the sun after he has rolled the seasons round for two or three centuries more, you will know that in Anno Domini 1758 we dreamed of your times."

In New York colonial poetry may be rated at zero. Three Dutch singers, all born in Holland, Jacob Steendham, Henricus Selyns, and Nicasius de Sille, flourished in the seventeenth century and wrote verses that measure fairly well with others of the period, and have long since passed into

oblivion. Of more importance were the writings of William Livingston, who was born in Albany in 1723, and was a resident and governor of New Jersey. He wrote much that points to a talent above that of most of his contemporaries. His *Philosophic Solitude* was republished several times after the Revolution.

Pennsylvania must be ranked above New York in the production of early poetry; but this is not saying much. In one respect the social and religious life of Pennsylvania was far more attractive than that of New England. The English Quakers, the Scotch Presbyterians, and the German Lutherans were quite as deeply religious as the Puritans; but they were less bigoted, more tolerant, and grasped with greater insight the true spirit of Gospel Liberty. Especially was this true of the Germans. Consequently the literature produced by Pennsylvania, meager as it was, was free from the dark forebodings that spread like a pall over New England.

The first of the Pennsylvania poets was Francis Daniel Pastorius, born in Germany in 1651, a noted linguist of his day. He was the founder of Germantown, now a portion of Philadelphia, and the writer of the first Quaker memorial against slavery, in 1688. His writings in various languages, prose and poetry, were very numerous; but all have been lost, except his Latin *Ode to Posterity*, translated by Whittier.

Other Pennsylvania poets were Aquila Rose, who died at the early age of twenty-six; James Ralph, a native of Philadelphia, who accompanied the youthful Benjamin Franklin to England, where most of his writing was done, and Thomas Godfrey, who was born in Philadelphia in 1736 and who, like Rose, died at twenty-six. Godfrey wrote *The Prince of Parthia*, the first poetic drama written in America,



1663—COTTON MATHER—1728.

BY PETER PELHAM, 1727.

From an original mezzotint in the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Mass.



and *The Court of Fancy*. So promising were these youthful efforts that some critics are led to the assertion that Godfrey, had he reached the maturity of his powers, would have been the greatest poet in America before the Revolution.

PURITAN THEOLOGY

The Puritan ministers were with few exceptions men of classical training. Many of them, graduates of the English universities, had been thrust out of large parishes in England. It was most natural that these men should write, that they should publish many volumes, and that the chief theme should be religion. So we find it. Piles of printed sermons, setting forth God's wrath rather than his love, controversial books, polemical books—these furnish our chief literary inheritance from the New England clergy. So much for Puritan narrowness. But it must be added that these men, with all their bigotry, led lives as pure as any recorded in Christian history, and that next to religion they fostered and worked for universal education. Of the many writers of this class we can here notice but a few of the leaders.

The most picturesque figure among the New England clergy was John Eliot, the Apostle to the Indians, one of the three men who prepared the *Bay Psalm Book*. Born in England in 1604, educated at Cambridge, he came to America in 1631 and lived to the age of eighty-six years. He wrote many books, but is known for his translation of the entire Bible into the Algonquin language.²²¹ The prodigiousness of the task may be realized when one considers that the Indian language had never been written, that many words seemed inexpressible in letters, and that Eliot did not

²²¹ Published in 1661-65.

know a word of the Indian tongue until he was nearly thirty years of age.

Thomas Hooker, the founder of Connecticut, one of the most loved men of his generation, was, like Eliot, a graduate of Cambridge, England. As stated on another page, he gave expressions on the subject of government and the governed that have not been surpassed to the present day. He was the author of many theological treatises that served their purpose at the time and have long been forgotten.

Roger Williams, who was also the founder of a state, was the author of various works, chiefly controversial and directed against the narrowness of Puritanism. His best known work is the *Bloody Tenet of Persecution*. Most of the works of Williams were written in a theological controversy with John Cotton, who was a power in politics as well as in religion. Cotton wrote many treatises, probably forty in all, but, aside from a few pages in the *New England Primer* which were written by him, all his works have perished.

The most remarkable family in the history of New England was the Mather family, known as the "Mather Dynasty." The founder of the family was Richard Mather, who, like many of his brethren, had been driven from England by the persecuting Laud. Reaching Massachusetts in 1635, he became one of the strongest religious leaders in the infant colony and was one of the three who wrote the *Bay Psalm Book*. Aside from this he wrote nothing worthy of present-day notice, and is remembered as the father of a line of some eighty ministers. Chief among these were his son, Increase Mather, and his grandson, Cotton Mather.

Increase Mather, born in Massachusetts in 1639, was

pastor of old North Church, Boston, for sixty years, and president of Harvard for sixteen years. Ordained at the age of nineteen, he preached two hours and prayed an hour and a quarter at his ordination. He was the most prominent man in New England for many years, and so continued until he was outshone by his own son, Cotton Mather. It was Increase Mather who went to England and secured the second charter of Massachusetts from William and Mary.²²² He was a great scholar, an indefatigable student, and his publications numbered nearly a hundred. Only one of these, *Remarkable Providences*, is now of any interest, and this, except as a psychological study of the times, is worthless.

Cotton Mather, the son of Increase Mather and a daughter of John Cotton, was the greatest of the Mather family. He had read most of the Latin and Greek classics at the age of twelve, and was graduated at Harvard at fifteen. He could write in seven languages, his life was one of ceaseless toil and the products of his pen numbered nearly four hundred books. The Salem witchcraft frenzy was encouraged and largely instigated by this commanding man, and he had not the broadness and candor of Judge Sewall to confess that he had erred. The only work of Cotton Mather that is now used is his *Magnalia Christi Americana*, which purports to be a history of the church in New England from 1620 to 1698. It gives civil history also, an account of the Indian wars, and many biographies. The work is huge in proportions and is loaded with rubbish, but it contains much in New England's history that cannot be had from any other source.

The greatest of the New England divines was Jonathan Edwards, who, it may be further said, was the ablest meta-

²²² In conjunction with Sir William Phipps.

physical writer that America has yet produced. Edwards was born in Connecticut in 1703, and graduated at Yale, and was pastor at Northampton, Massachusetts, for many years. Leaving Northampton, he became a missionary among the Indians and while there was elected president of the college at Princeton, New Jersey. A few months after reaching Princeton he died of smallpox.

Jonathan Edwards was the author of many theological writings, one of which, his discourse on the *Freedom of the Will*, has placed its author among the immortals. Edwards was a Calvinist of the extreme type and while his views are in no sense in accord with modern conviction, the purity of his style and his subtle power of reasoning are fully abreast of modern thought.

Turning to Virginia, we find in President James Blair of William and Mary College a man of influence scarcely below that of the Mathers of New England. He secured the charter in London for William and Mary College in 1693, became its first president and held the position till his death, fifty years later. In 1722 he published his only important work, *Our Saviour's Sermon on the Mount*, in five volumes. It consisted of 117 sermons, the texts of which were all taken from the Sermon on the Mount.

In this section must also be noticed another of the colonial divines—Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, the “Lutheran Patriarch of Pennsylvania.” The published writings of Muhlenberg were very few, but he was a man of large caliber. In mental endowments, in sweetness of character and purity of life he measured up to the standard of the greatest Puritan divines, and while they spent years of energy in piling up tomes of printed discourses, only to be cast aside by posterity, he went about founding churches

and establishing synods, which still exist and which rest on the same doctrinal basis as when they were founded.

Muhlenberg was born in Germany in 1711 and, in response to a call of the Pennsylvania Germans for a pastor, came to America in 1742. He represented the Pietistic movement which centered at Halle and before coming to America wrote a treatise in defense of Pietism. After coming to America he married a daughter of Conrad Weiser, the famous Indian interpreter, and had the honor of being the father of the Speaker of the House in the First Congress under the National Constitution, and of the soldier-preacher who marched at the head of the men of his congregation to fight for independence. Muhlenberg had the care of many churches scattered from Maryland to New York. He was a man of such broad sympathies and such great kindliness of heart that he endeared himself to all classes. His chief writing was an *Autobiography*, published many years after it was written.

The Swedes, who had settled in Delaware and in a small corner of Pennsylvania, produced little or no literature, with one striking exception. John Campanius, a Swede who spent some years in America and returned to Sweden in 1648, translated *Luther's Small Catechism* into the Delaware Indian language before his return to Sweden, which, it will be seen, antedates Eliot's translation of the Bible by about thirteen years. Campanius's translation, however, was not published till 1696. It was then printed in the Delaware and Swedish languages in parallel pages. It also contains a Swedish-Delaware vocabulary.²²³

²²³ A copy of this rare book is in the possession of Dr. Henry E. Jacobs of the Lutheran Seminary, Mt. Airy, Philadelphia.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

Benjamin Franklin was the only American whose fame, before the Revolution, extended throughout Europe. To his work and character we have made frequent reference in our narrative of that conflict. Franklin was a man of action, not of meditation. As a diplomat and a scientist he ranked with the best of his age or of any age. He was not consciously a man of letters, he had no literary ambition; his writings were incidental.

Franklin was not a poet, he had not a touch of the divine fire in his soul. He had little appreciation of the spiritual, the sublime, or the beautiful; but he had the rare literary gift of expressing much in a few words, of crowding a world of meaning in a phrase or a metaphor. He was the author of more trite practical sayings that have a permanent place in our literature than any other American.

Born in Boston in 1706 and reared in the midst of Puritan surroundings, Franklin was not the least tempered by Puritanism. He received little schooling, but was an omnivorous reader. At the age of seventeen he left his native city and made his home in Philadelphia. As a printer and editor, and as a public-spirited man, he soon became the most distinguished citizen in the colony and so continued for more than half a century. Aside from his writings, Franklin will ever be remembered in American history as the leading spirit at the Albany Congress of 1754, as a signer of the four most important documents in our early history—the Declaration of Independence, the Treaty of Alliance with France, the Treaty of Peace with England, and the Constitution—and above all for his diplomatic victory at the Court of France. Franklin was also the inventor of the stove, of the lightning rod, the founder of the Uni-



1706 — BENJAMIN FRANKLIN — 1790.

By MATTHEW PRATT, 1756.

From the original portrait in possession of Charles Henry Hart, Esq.,
Philadelphia.



versity of Pennsylvania and of the American Philosophical Society.

In 1732 Franklin began to issue "Poor Richard's Almanac," and he continued it for twenty-six years. Many of the best sayings of Franklin, some that have become proverbs known to all English-speaking people, were first printed in this almanac. These maxims are not soul-inspiring in any sense; they seldom strike a deep life-note; they are purely practical and intended to foster thrift among the people.²²⁴ Franklin's writings cover many subjects. His *Autobiography* has been pronounced the best work of its kind in the English language. His essays on Politics, Commerce, Electricity, the Economy of Life, on Moral and Religious subjects, are very thoughtful and ably written. As a genius in science, literature, statesmanship and all round practical common sense, the equal of Benjamin Franklin has not risen since his day.

²²⁴ Some of the most notable are the following:

God helps them that help themselves.

Laziness travels so slowly that Poverty soon overtakes him.

Early to bed, and early to rise, makes a man healthy, wealthy, and wise.

Diligence is the mother of good luck.

Plough deep while sluggards sleep, and you will have corn to sell and keep.

One to-day is worth two to-morrows.

The cat in gloves catches no mice.

Little strokes fell great oaks.

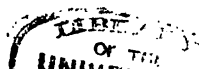
Keep thy shop and thy shop will keep thee.

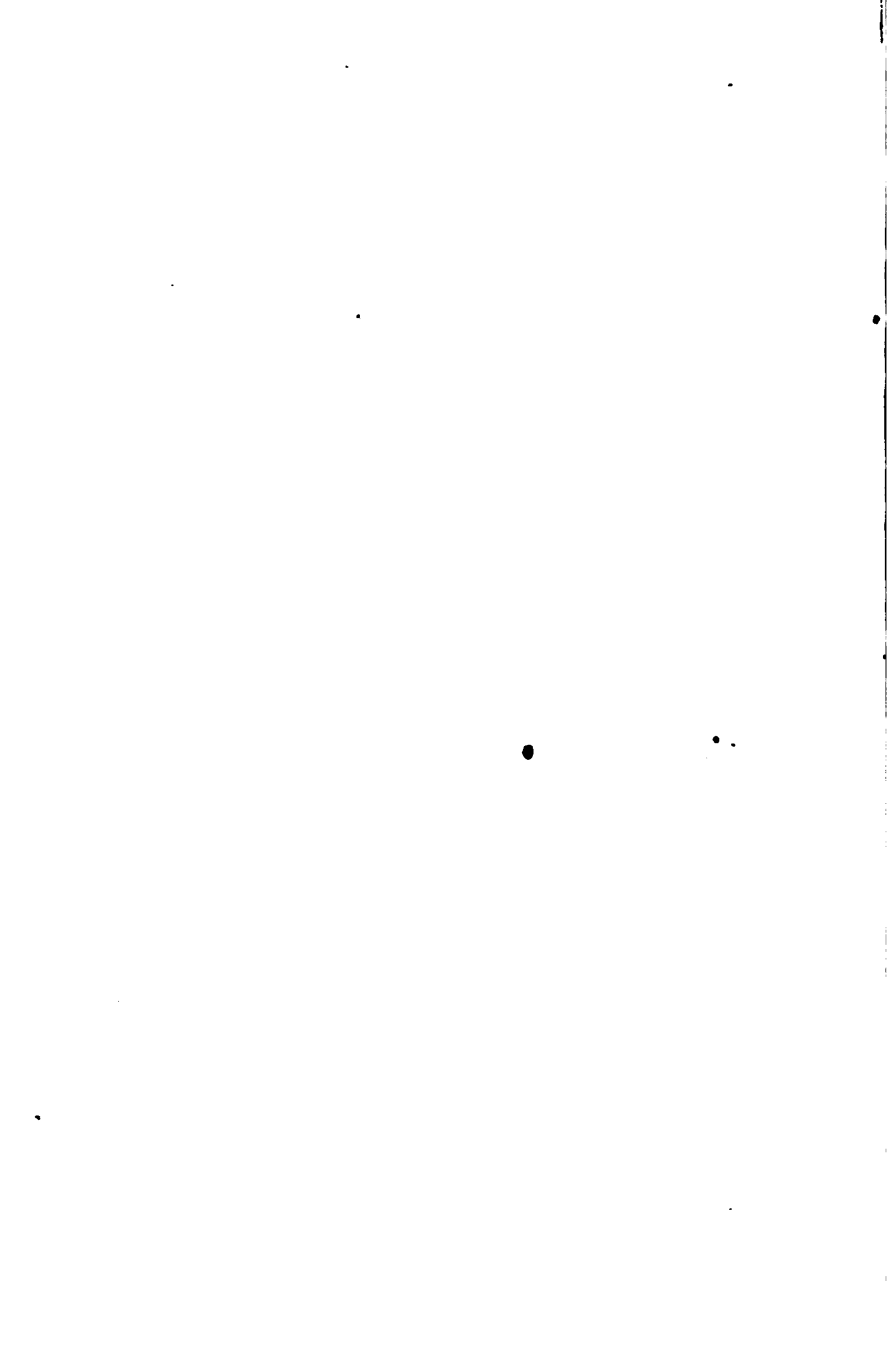
A small leak will sink a great ship.

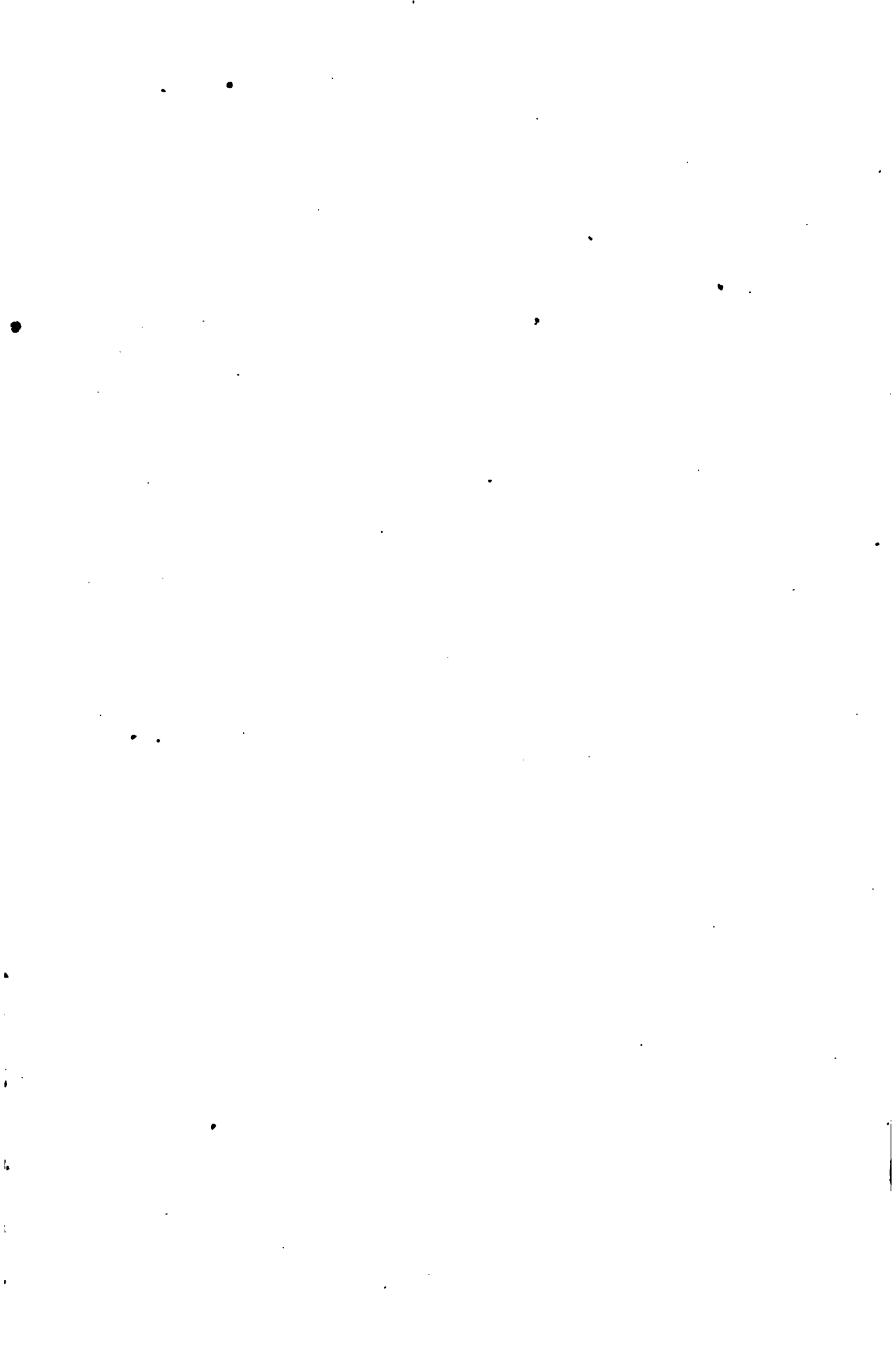
Fools make feasts and wise men eat them.

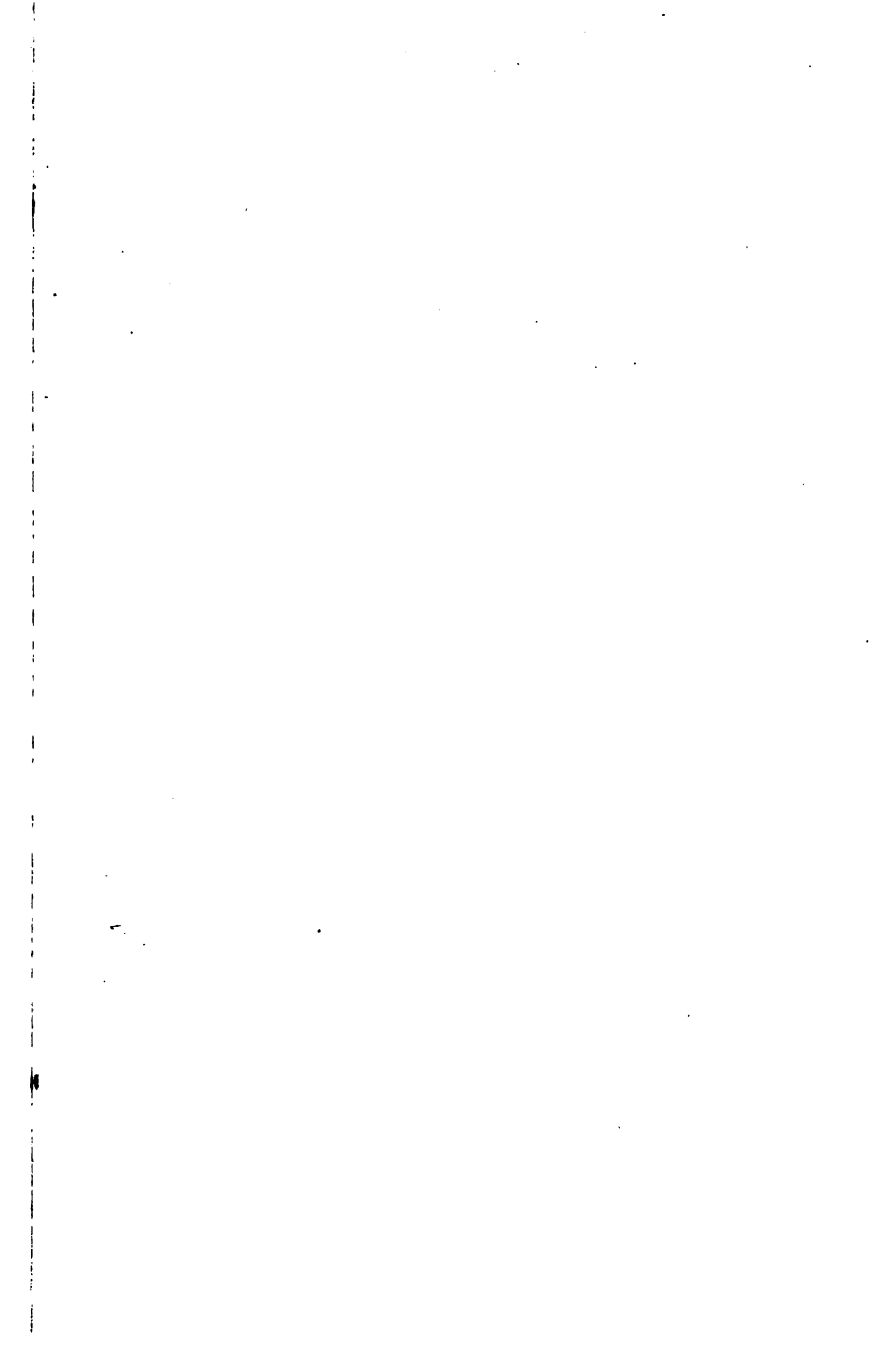
Silks and satins, scarlets and velvets, put out the kitchen fire.

It is hard for an empty bag to stand upright.









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